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The Shape of Things

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS TECHNICALLY responsible for violations of the Safety Code that led to the tragic mine disaster at Centralia, Illinois, since this is among the properties seized last year. That being so, and because there is good reason to believe that recommendations made by Mines Department inspectors are often ignored, we hope that the Committee of Inquiry will be rigorous and thoroughly unbiased in its work. However, if Senatorial speeches are any guide, there was rather more political opportunism than human sympathy in the demand for an inquiry. Senator Brooks's failure to refer to the conduct of state and company officials clearly showed that his indignation had also the object of discrediting Secretary Krug and past and present Democratic Administrations. Hardly less demagogic, and certainly no more effective, was John L. Lewis's decree of a week's work stoppage in the soft-coal industry. It seems to us that it would have been just as dramatic if the nation's coal miners had been asked to contribute a day's pay to the survivors of the 111 victims, rather than forego a week's pay with no one the gainer. We hope, in any event, that these grandstand plays will not divert attention from the real source of responsibility. The Centralia operators had twice ignored recommendations of mine inspectors, and more than a year has passed since Local 52 of the United Mine Workers first appealed to Governor Green of Illinois to compel the owners to put their pits in safe condition. A country that has exercised itself so strenuously to check the irresponsibility of Mr. Lewis can do no less than demand safeguards for his hard-working followers.

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THE HUTCHINS COMMISSION ON FREEDOM of the press, like many another prober of that institution, has found that it is easier to say what is wrong with the press than to suggest a sure-fire cure. In other industries in which technological progress has encouraged concentration of ownership, we may prescribe government regulation or, in special cases, nationalization. But few of the many people who feel that freedom of the press is inadequately provided for now would wish to see the entry of government into the field, and even public regulation is a tool to be handled with extreme care. The commission recognized this fact by including in its recommendations only one suggestion for legislative action—a law which would supplement the present remedy for libel by giving an injured party the right to obtain "a retraction or a restatement of the facts by the offender, or an opportunity to reply." In regard to the decline of competition in the communications industry generally—the commission has covered radio, movies, magazines, and books as well as newspapers—there is a recommendation that "the government maintain competition among large units through the anti-trust laws but that those laws be sparingly used to break up such units." Put into concrete terms, which the report of the commission, an academic body, studiously avoids, this means presumably that the action of the Department of Justice in attacking the exclusiveness of the Associated Press is approved, but that any attempt to separate the links in a newspaper chain, like the Scripps-Howard press, would be regarded as dangerous. Yet, of all monopolies, those in the field of communications are the most dangerous. With due respect to the commission, we feel that the time has come to curb those horizontal combines which gather into one hand the production of newsprint. For newsprint is the raw material of press freedom, newspaper publication, and the operation of radio stations.

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THE COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM IS hurt. It feels that *The Nation* and other interested outsiders who assumed that William Shirer was displaced from his famous 5:45 Sunday "spot" because of his liberal views have been unfair to the company. To a deputation of citizens who questioned him about the change, William S. Paley, president of CBS, insisted that the company acted on the basis of an "editorial decision" which had nothing to do with Mr. Shirer's opinions or with the action of the sponsor. We cannot prove the contrary and are willing to believe that, in spite of Shirer's high Hooper rating among news analysts, the management may have had uncommercial, non-political reasons to shift him. But we'll wager that if the Williams shaving-cream company, sponsoring the program, had renewed its contract with Mr. Shirer, he would have been retained by CBS. The fact that cannot be ducked

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by the broadcasting company is the neat coincidence in time between the action by the sponsor and its own. If its decision had been made strictly on an editorial basis, it would have told Mr. Shirer directly about it and not waited for the Williams people to break the news. Through its own unfortunate acts, CBS has generated suspicion of its motives from here to Moscow, and its great public has been deprived of Shirer's insight and immense knowledge. We shall wait with impatience to learn on what station he will be heard from now on.

*

BY CASTING THE DECISIVE VOTE FOR THE Lateran Treaty of 1929 the Italian Communists have written that relic of medievalism into the constitution of the Italian Republic. What has been gained by this bewildering move is difficult even to imagine. No one supposes, least of all the Vatican, that a Communist government would continue to tax the Italian people for the payment of clerical salaries or that it would sanction compulsory religious education in public schools. The Holy See will therefore not abandon its implacable hostility to communism, or for that matter to any other form of socialism. It may also be doubted whether the turnabout will win any large number of votes for the Communist Party at the October elections, although Mr. del Vayo's analysis on page 388 suggests that this must have been one of its chief objectives. Signor Togliatti has vehemently denied any such political motive. But if we are to believe him, what is the explanation? Why have the Communists gone out of their way to strengthen their mortal enemy?

*

THE BEST ANSWER WOULD APPEAR TO BE that the maneuver was partly based upon a tactical estimate of the situation in Italy and of that country's place in the world. It can be argued that at present the left-wing parties cannot offer the peasantry the economic inducements that would be necessary to win them away from the church's political control and that the eventual showdown is best postponed. By voting for the Lateran treaty, the Communists may also have hoped to prevent Italy from falling under the influence of the United States during the present crusade against communism. The view is not without a degree of realism, for had the Communists not broken the anti-clerical front in the Assembly it is possible that the De Gasperi Cabinet would have fallen, to be followed by one from which the left parties would have been excluded. If these were Signor Togliatti's reasons, the most that can be said for them is that they are plausible. The damaging sacrifice of principle was unnecessary, for since the right-wing parties do not wish at present to force a division of Italy into two clear-cut factions, the debate might have been indefinitely postponed with no danger to Italy's independ-

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ence. The important fact is that having gained one of their most dearly prized objectives the Italian right has been strengthened, while a new source of confusion has been introduced into the left.

*

THE APPOINTMENT OF JERRY VOORHIS AS executive secretary of the Cooperative League places a good man in a good job. The former California Congressman had already rendered service to farm cooperatives during his term on the House Committee on Agriculture. Now he will fight in the front office, as he once fought in committee chambers, for the interests of the two and a half million families who have linked efforts in the cooperative supplying of foodstuffs, petroleum products, insurance, housing, and medical facilities. And the interests of co-op members are the interests of all of us—peace, welfare, security. Pointing to the astonishing achievements of cooperatives in their newest and most exciting venture, the production and international distribution of cooperative oil, Voorhis told a Canadian audience last week that oil might some day "become a river of peace instead of a sleek road to war." It is not too far-fetched an aspiration, and Voorhis is the proper person to voice it. Twice voted by Washington correspondents as the most sincere and one of the most useful members of Congress, he will, happily, be no less useful now that he has lost his legislative seat.

Best Foot Forward

IT IS fairly apparent that the Truman Doctrine is about to be put into practice. The new Mediterranean outposts of American security are to be manned by American dollars and Greek and Turkish mercenaries. The United States is taking over England's time-honored role of trying to keep Russia away from the Dardanelles; and $400,000,000 is the down payment on an incalculable bill the American taxpayer, for years to come, will be asked to foot.

America has entered the school of imperialism and is showing remarkable aptitude in its early lessons. As a first recitation it was required to restate an imperial purpose in terms of a world mission. This, Senator Austin managed to do with great aplomb and even erudition at the United Nations Security Council last Friday. Of an action that quite evidently had bypassed the United Nations, the Senator was able to say with impressive conviction, "The United States is giving momentum to the United Nations by its present policy and welcomes corresponding interest and support from other members of the United Nations." Sir Alexander Cadogan was observed to give an envious side glance at the Senator at this point of his presentation.

Senator Austin built his case effectively. He linked the United States intervention in Greece and Turkey with the activities of the United Nations commission now investigating the unpleasantness on Greece's northern borders. "Neither action would be of much effect if taken without the other, for these are complementary, not conflicting proposals—one to watch areas where actual disturbances occur—the other to strengthen Greece sufficiently to maintain internal order, and to restore to her people hope and confidence in their future as a free people." The United Nations was not equipped for emergency measures: hence the United States had to act quickly on Greece's cry for help. But the United Nations was well-suited for programs with long-term objectives—FAO, Economic Commission for Europe, etc.—and in carrying out these could, of course, count on the full support of the United States. (Members were expected to forget that the United States had jettisoned UNRRA almost single-handed, sabotaged the food program of FAO, delayed the World Bank, blown hot and cold on the International Refugee Organization, and was still undecided at the Congressional level whether to go back to Hoover tariffs or on to the World Trade Organization!)

Turkey was awkwardly dragged in as just another fine upstanding young country, badly in need of a helping hand. No mention was made of military assistance, no reference to the strategic core of the project, and only an echo of President Truman's heroic challenge that in "the present moment of world history nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life," the "free peoples" on one side, the "totalitarian regimes" on the other.

Now, it is worth while considering what the United Nations could have done to help Greece in its present extremity. Could it have given emergency aid? Here it should be noted that the "emergency" is not something that had suddenly been brought to the notice of the United States on March 3. It was reported by UNRRA representatives, by the FAO investigators, and by the subcommissions of the Economic and Social Council while preparing the data for their reports recommending an Economic Commission for Europe as long ago as last September. The situation is worse now. But it is worse because we refused to lift a hand to provide for the continuation of the work of international relief after the date UNRRA was scheduled to terminate. We had the facts, we had the personnel available. What we lacked was the will to put an emergency program into action. Why? The answer is plainly that the Administration was intimidated by the fear of rising Congressional reaction, and lacked international imagination. It would not risk its political neck by giving world leadership to a plan of international economic rehabilitation which, had Roosevelt lived, would certainly have been carried out. Even at this late date it is possible for the American government to bring its entire emergency program of relief—economic, advisory, and technical—under the

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direct supervision of United Nations agencies and special missions. And we hope that in next Monday's debate Senator Austin's colleagues on the Security Council will press for just this course of action.

In the second place, could the United Nations carry out a long-term program of economic rehabilitation that would help Greece onto its feet and put a floor under those of her citizens working for the rebuilding of Greece's democracy? The answer is plain: the plans for such programs are already made. But more than Senator Austin's glib assurances are needed to persuade us they will be put into effect. Some of those plans called for emergency efforts which will now be carried out independently by the United States. Nor are we quite satisfied with the Senator's statement that the present United States' measures are of an "emergency and temporary character." Unless we've entirely misjudged the scope of the new American foreign policy, the United States will find it increasingly difficult to extricate itself and the United Nations will find it increasingly difficult to "muscle in." And we've set a precedent for "emergency action" of which other nations have, no doubt, taken full note.

Finally, we may ask, could the United Nations have acted to guard Greece's national integrity against outside aggression and internal subversion? To the first part of the question, yes, it is already acting. The Security Council's commission is now on Greece's northern borders. It will soon be presenting its report—or reports. Senator Austin has kindly pointed out to them that they might propose "a system of border control regulations and a continuing commission made up of representatives of the Security Council." Russia might veto such a proposal but, in so doing, would clearly put itself in the wrong. Had we rested our case firmly on the Security Council decision, in terms of the Charter, we should have been in a vastly stronger moral position to take any independent action should the occasion arise at a later date.

One of the tragic results of our action has been that we have lost the respect of many nations who know their whole security rests on the strengthening of the United Nations. We have weakened the United Nations. And we have weakened the cause of European democracy to which we have been giving such voluble lip service. In supporting the reaction regimes of Greece and Turkey, we have brought those regimes a temporary stability, perhaps, but have made more inevitable the final struggle between those extremes of right and left with which American democracy has nothing in common. But American democracy has much in common with the struggle of the common people of Europe, whether in Greece or Yugoslavia, to lead a secure and free life. To those aims, the United Nations is committed, and if they are not realized we, more than any single nation, will be to blame.

Liberals Beware!

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

IN THESE days people who have lived long enough feel as if they had suddenly been transported back to 1919 and 1920 when A. Mitchell Palmer was protecting American institutions from the aggressions of the reds. The period after World War I was marked by hysteria, repression, and the start of a federal police system which has survived to this hour in the shape of J. Edgar Hoover's FBI. Before the fever dropped, along in the early twenties, the country was subjected to a legal reign of terror that broke the strength of the progressive forces for a grim ten-year stretch. It was not until economic collapse had discredited the Republican Party even in the eyes of its own followers that the people gained enough courage and cohesion to reassert their political will.

One week soon, *The Nation* is going to publish a brief history of that historic red-hunt. It is important to recall at this critical time the ugly weapons which American reaction turned against all groups that advocated a decent peace in Europe and a better life over here. Today, two years after the end of World War II, the hunt is on again, and the prospect of an early return to sanity is poor. Not only are the Republicans, in control of Congress, set for a quick kill, but Democratic members of all shades seem eager only to beat their opponents to the draw. And whereas in the early twenties right-wing panic was generated by a new-born revolution struggling to establish itself in a vast and turbulent country, today our statesmen, peering out from under their roll-top desks, see communism full-grown, armed to the teeth, and making unfriendly gestures and clanking noises.

Still worse, the liberal and progressive forces in 1947 are badly demoralized. Fear of Russia has become an obsession in groups which a generation ago had a more solid faith in the country's capacity to remain both democratic and free. The liberals of the post-Wilson era fought well against nationalistic panic and reactionary fury; they lost, but at least they resisted. Today an alarming percentage of liberals are either taking to cover or digging up reasons to believe that the Truman purge order, the inquisition now going on in the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and the rash of repressive legislation before Congress, are merely signs of a healthy resistance to communism.

The threat of communism in this country is insignificant; while the threat of reaction is explicit in the Washington red-hunt and implicit in Mr. Truman's new foreign policy. However provocative Russia may be, however infuriating the obstructive maneuvers of the American Communists, liberals know, or should know,

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that it is only in countries sunk in economic misery, like Greece, where hunger and idleness conspire with injustice, that communism wins the support of the democratic masses. Instead of obliging the reactionaries by focusing their chief attention on the remote possibility of Communist control in America, our liberals would do better to consider the present fact of a repressive drive which may indeed force Communist activities underground but will certainly strangle the progressive movements that operate in the open.

Let liberals review the record of 1919-1922 before they join the hunt. Let them read Professor Commager's acute and ironic comments in this issue on the logical implications of Mr. Truman's executive order. Let them consider the injustices already perpetrated against their ideological blood-brothers: against Warren of the Labor Department and Menefee of the International Labor Organization and many others. Not to mention the infamous attacks, not yet ended, on David Lilienthal. And then let them pluck up their courage and show that liberals know the value of liberty. The hour calls for protest and political action, not for ingenious rationalizing.

And this leads me to a few somewhat relevant remarks about an article appearing in this issue of *The Nation*. Since James Burnham's "The Struggle for the World" is clearly destined to become the bible of the Bomb Russia First boys, I was rather surprised by Arthur Schlesinger's review of the book (page 398). Without fully accepting the Burnham thesis, Mr. Schlesinger does not conceal his admiration for the bold strokes with which the author slices through our remaining national hesitations and scruples. In a conservative, this susceptibility would be easy to understand. But our reviewer is not a conservative, much less a near- or neo-fascist. His own writings attest to his liberalism. And it is this fact that makes the obvious enthusiasm lurking behind his disagreement—he is glad Mr. Burnham is not Secretary of State—a disturbing phenomenon. In other countries, when fear of Russia sent liberals scurrying toward the campfires of the militant right, the final result was something worse than communism. I hope Mr. Schlesinger's review is an individual impulse, not a symptom. But whatever it is, I think he should have risen superior to such dubious devices as to tell the audience (page 399) that "the Progressive Citizens of America and the Chicago *Tribune* have now clasped hands" in an "interesting joint effort" to prevent any "interference with the Communists." It would be as apt and as accurate to retort that the "Americans for Democratic Action and Bill Bullitt have clasped hands in an interesting joint effort to launch an immediate atomic war against Russia." In other words, it would be silly and inaccurate. These days, the bedfellow argument has at least two sharp edges.

Washington Witch-hunt

BY HENRY STEELE COMMAGER

IT IS not improbable that President Truman's executive order on disloyalty in the executive branch was designed to steal the thunder of the Thomas committee or head off such extreme bills as that proposed by Representative Rankin—that it was intended, in short, to furnish some protection to persons in government employment wrongfully accused of disloyalty. If so, it is a pity that it was not more carefully drawn, that it does not more scrupulously observe legal and constitutional proprieties. For as it stands it is an invitation to precisely that kind of witch-hunting which is repugnant to our constitutional system. And as it stands, it should be added, it is liable to instigate persecution not only of radicals by red-baiters but of reactionaries by radicals.

The crucial clauses are in Part V: Standards, and these merit close attention. Most striking is the looseness, the almost unbelievable looseness, with which standards are fixed. Here are the "activities and associations" of an employee which are to be considered as a test of loyalty:

> Membership in, affiliation with, or sympathetic association with any foreign or domestic organization, association, movement, group or combination of persons, designated by the Attorney General as totalitarian, fascist, Communist, or subversive, or as having adopted a policy of advocating or approving the commission of acts of force or violence to deny other persons their rights under the Constitution of the United States, or as seeking to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means.

Note first how all-embracing these terms are. It is not only membership in or affiliation with subversive organizations that is proscribed, but "sympathetic association" with them. What is sympathetic association, and how is it to be distinguished from unsympathetic association? Is a member of the Democratic Party in New York sympathetically or unsympathetically associated with the Demo-

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Witch's Sabbath

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cratic Party of Mississippi, which denies Negroes their rights under the Constitution of the United States? Note, too, the connection—it is difficult to use a more precise word—that is made suspect. It is not only membership and so forth in actual organizations but membership in and sympathetic association with a "movement" or a "group or combination of persons." What is a movement? Is the Wave of the Future a movement? Is anti-Semitism a movement? Is hostility to organized labor a movement?

Here is the doctrine of guilt by association with a vengeance. For almost a hundred and fifty years American law labored under the handicap of being unable to prove guilt by association. The Alien Registration Act of 1940, directed against aliens and enacted under pressure of war, for the first time wrote that odious doctrine into American law. Now, apparently, it is here to stay. Guilt is no longer to be personal, no longer to depend upon overt acts. It is an infectious thing, to be achieved by mere "sympathetic association" with others presumed to be guilty, or even with "movements" presumed to be subversive.

Nor is consolation to be found in the designation of the Attorney General as the person to classify organizations and movements as subversive. An intelligent Attorney General, an open-minded and tolerant one, would doubtless use this broad power with discretion. But how would it be used by a Stanton, who double-crossed his President; how would it be used by a Richard Olney, who smashed the Pullman strike; how would it be used by an A. Mitchell Palmer, who rounded up the "reds"; how would it be used by a Daugherty, who broke the railway strike of 1922? What guaranty is there that J. Edgar Hoover may not some day be Attorney General, Hoover who recently asserted that "'so-called progressives and phony liberals" are little better than Communists?

The same pervasive and pernicious looseness of phrasing characterizes another of the standards set up in this section. For one of the tests of loyalty is "performing or attempting to perform his duties, or otherwise acting, so as to serve the interests of another government in preference to the interests of the United States." What is "otherwise acting" so as to serve the interests of some government other than the United States—and who is to decide? It is worth noting, in passing, that much this same test was enacted once before, in the Logan act of 1798—and failed. Did Walter Hines Page act so as to serve the interests of Britain rather than the United States? Many contemporaries and some later historians have thought so, and we may well believe that the right kind of Attorney General—Henry Cabot Lodge, let us say—might have agreed with them. If this principle were applied to Congress, as it might logically be, would it result in wholesale decapitations? Anyone who reads faithfully the *Congressional Record* knows how many Congressmen plead the cause of Lithuania, or of the former Polish government in London, or of Eire—at the cost of a good many thousand dollars to the American taxpayer. What government's interests are being served when Mr. de Valera's St. Patrick's Day address is reprinted in the *Congressional Record?*

But let us turn to some of the possible applications of this extraordinary order. What organizations, associations, movements, or groups, after all, may be said to be embraced in the esoteric phrases of Part V? Communist and fascist are, perhaps, obvious enough, though "totalitarian" takes a bit of defining. But what of others that "advocate or approve" the commission of acts of force to deny persons their rights under the Constitution or to alter the form of government? The Ku Klux Klan is obviously one of these, and we may confidently expect that it will be so designated by the Attorney General and that all its members in government service will be promptly charged with disloyalty.

What shall we say, what may we expect, for other organizations? Is membership in the Democratic Party, or "sympathetic association" with it, an indication of disloyalty? Assuredly, that party countenances the use of force to deprive Southern Negroes of their rights under the Constitution. What of membership in labor unions? Several of them have, notoriously, denied to non-members or to the public their constitutional rights. What shall we say of membership in or association with the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers, which—we follow the Supreme Court here—denied Negro firemen their constitutional rights? Nor should we forget that numerous Congressmen have again and again asserted that various unions were Communist-dominated. Clearly they must know what they are talking about, and clearly all who associate with or sympathize with these unions are guilty through association.

A number of organizations, membership in which must create at least a suspicion of disloyalty, come to mind: whether these organizations are subversive or not will depend upon the interpretation given that slippery word "force," and force, it must be remembered, does not necessarily require violence. Does the American Bar Association come under the Presidential ban? Its committee counseled disobedience to the National Labor Relations Act. Does the American Medical Association come under the ban? It was found guilty of denying members of the Medical Society of the District of Columbia their constitutional rights. Will association with the Associated Press be evidence of disloyalty? According to *Associated Press* v. *United States*, it too was guilty of denying to outsiders rights which they could exercise under the Constitution. What of "sympathetic association" with railroad corporations which persist in denying to Negroes the constitutional right not to be segregated? May stockholders be presumed to be "sympathetic"

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associates, or is there a presumption of non-sympathy? Or, to turn to government employees, is service with the FBI to be an indication of disloyalty if that agency attempts, as it clearly wishes, to deny Communists their constitutional right of freedom of speech and of assembly?

Fortunately for those who tremble for the safety of the Republic, the dragnet is to be spread widely enough to catch even those whose sympathetic association with subversive groups or movements is not clear. For all those who seek "to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means" are equally subject to the Attorney General's disapproval. What are "unconstitutional means"? It is a bit difficult to know what may be considered unconstitutional in the future, but perhaps recourse to the past will clarify the issue. Clearly, all those who carried out the Congressional mandate, in 1862, to abolish slavery in the territories were guilty of this crime, for under the Dred Scott decision the act of 1862 was unconstitutional. Even more clearly, all officers who executed the First Reconstruction Act, and its amendments, were equally guilty, for these acts were palpably unconstitutional, and, no less palpably, they altered the American form of government.

An application of Mr. Truman's executive order to the past would, indeed, greatly have simplified our history. An order of this kind would have disposed of that dangerous radical Andrew Jackson, who not once but twice flouted the Supreme Court, and of Jackson's Attorney General, Taney, later Chief Justice, who aided and abetted him, and of his Postmaster General who unlawfully withheld funds which Congress and the Court said must be paid. It would have embarrassed that subversive executive Abraham Lincoln, who illegally, according to Chief Justice Taney, suspended the writ of habeas corpus, thus denying to John Merryman rights guaranteed to him by the Constitution. It might have put that dangerous agitator Theodore Roosevelt in his place—Roosevelt who, according to President Taft, illegally withdrew public lands from entry, thus denying persons their constitutional right to homesteads. And, whatever we may think of more recent situations, such an order—had it but been effective in time—would inevitably have disposed of Mr. Truman's trouble-making predecessor, Thomas Jefferson. For Jefferson "sympathetically associated" with Jacobin clubs, Jefferson "sympathetically" joined combinations to nullify Congressional acts, Jefferson was affiliated with a party which worked a "revolution" in 1800, and—worst of all—Jefferson openly announced that "the tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and martyrs."

Vatican Versus Left in Italy

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Milan, March 20

THROUGHOUT the war I kept hoping to wake up one morning and find the Vatican transferred to Montevideo, or Rio de Janeiro, or some other distant place. If that had happened, Hitler would have performed one good deed in his life, for it would have meant the salvation of Italy. Today we would have our own domestic and foreign policy. We would feel free." This was said not by a Communist but by a liberal Italian politician whose identity, were I at liberty to reveal it, would astonish Americans. It is common talk these days in Rome that the Vatican rules Italy in the person of Premier de Gasperi, leader of the Christian Democrats. However, my liberal friend believes that to concentrate the attack on De Gasperi as former librarian of the Vatican and its faithful servant is to miss the crux of the problem. Actually the Italian Premier has done his best as head of a coalition government composed of mutually antagonistic forces, and his last speech in the Assembly, which I heard the other day, sounded like a sincere profession of faith in the republic. De Gasperi, my friend maintains, was a political accident; the real, continuing problem is the Vatican.

No Italian anti-Fascist can forget that during twenty years Mussolini's infamous regime enjoyed the backing of the Holy See. February 11, 1929, marked the signing of the Lateran Agreement which healed the breach between political Rome and Vatican Rome dating from 1870 and, incidentally, solved most of the latter's financial problems. "From that day on," wrote Anton Zischka, one of the dictator's enthusiastic biographers, "the Duce could count on the support, direct or indirect, of 336,000,000 Catholics throughout the world. By this move . . . clever Mussolini immensely strengthened his position both inside and outside Italy. Henceforth his policy would be defended by 320,000 priests, 265,000 monks, 400,000 nuns, and 35,000 missionaries scattered from Greenland to the Malayas, from Japan to North Africa; by 1,578 bishops, 245 archbishops, and 55 cardinals; by the papal nuncios in the various capitals, who . . . are agents of inestimable importance." Pope Pius's numerous army is not likely to prove as loyal a defender of the Italian Republic!

In the light of its record, we might logically have expected to see the Vatican isolated at least for the next few decades. But logic was not one of the victors in the

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late war. The Vatican has emerged more powerful than ever, as a rallying point for the forces of world reaction. The voice of the Pope is heard at every critical moment: on the eve of the Italian referendum on the monarchy; on the eve of the French elections; on the eve of the Moscow conference. In fact, the Vatican has completely recovered from the temporary decline in moral prestige it suffered as a result of its identification with fascism. Italian leaders, asked to explain the rapid resurgence of Catholic political power, invariably answer, "the United States."

By a series of unprecedented acts as inspired as Mussolini's, Pope Pius has altered the traditional course of the church. For centuries Vatican policy has been oriented toward the Catholic countries of Europe; now the hierarchy's main efforts are concentrated on America. His Holiness sees that predominantly Protestant country as the Vatican's chief future ally—and source of funds. The trend became very apparent last February in the selection of the new cardinals: for the first time the Pope skipped over Italian candidates to elevate fourteen prelates of North and South America. Since then he has named American Catholic dignitaries as his special envoys to Yugoslavia, Rumania, and Germany, though in the past such delicate missions have traditionally been intrusted to the Italian members of the Sacred College. These appointments were intended not only to flatter American Catholics but to create the impression that the Vatican's policy is linked with that of the United States; the envoys speak as representatives of the church *and* as citizens of the strongest country in the world.

Anti-clerical leaders have denounced the use of American prelates for diplomatic missions as "subservience . . . to the Anglo-American powers." But this subservience has been amply rewarded: evidence of American diplomatic backing for the Vatican; of close relations between Myron S. Taylor, special emissary to the Vatican, and Republican leaders in the Senate; and of the almost magical influence wielded by the Pope's good friend, Cardinal Spellman, have persuaded many Italians that opposition to the church would mean the end of American economic assistance to Italy.

One of the principal factors in the new orientation of the church is the Pope's personal conviction that only the United States is strong enough to halt the political advance of the Soviet Union. Mindful that 80,000,000 Catholics live in countries now within the Russian sphere of influence, the Vatican has drawn upon the experience of twenty centuries in its effort to follow a militantly anti-Communist policy and yet conciliate Russia's neighbors. On the surface the result appears to be a curious zigzag strategy, but examination reveals a fixed central objective—a Western Christian coalition against godless Russia. Few Italians, however, want to become involved in bloc politics. For years their country has been a satellite of the big nations. Now they want a strong, independent Italy that will never again be used as a pawn in the game of power politics.

In the face of a two-pronged offensive by foreign capitalism and native clerical reaction, Italy must depend upon the strength of its working class to bring about a long-needed economic and social transformation. In the vanguard of the large but still inchoate left movement are the two parties that formed the backbone of the Resistance—the Socialists and the Communists.

THE SOCIALISTS

The old Socialist Party is headed by Pietro Nenni. Since his recent resignation from the government he has devoted all his time to party activity, speaking up and down the country and making frequent visits to Milan, the real center of the Italian labor movement. He is a brilliant orator and, above all, a courageous leader. At the height of the crisis precipitated by the announcement of the Italian peace terms, when the right was eagerly preparing to make capital of the government's dilemma, Nenni asked for the post of Foreign Minister, a thankless job coveted by nobody under the circumstances. His first official action was to clear out the appeasers and pro-Fascists from his ministry.

Though Nenni held the foreign-affairs portfolio for only a brief period, his prestige increased steadily. In Rome they tell of the day he summoned a suspect functionary in charge of the personnel division. "By tomorrow," he told him, "I want a list of the Fascists still in the department." Next day the functionary appeared with a list of seventeen names. Nenni pulled a scrap of paper out of his vest pocket, glanced at it, and remarked calmly, "I said *all* of them—all thirty-nine." The functionary departed and returned a few minutes later. "Here's the complete list, Your Excellency," he announced with a smile. "Yes," Nenni retorted, "after we have added your name." Another story describes Nenni's reaction to an effusive telegram of congratulations he received from an Italian diplomat abroad, one of those "flexible" career men who get along equally well with monarchists, republicans, fascists, and democrats. Nenni replied: "Received your cable. Have charged it to your personal account. Will charge this acknowledgment to my own." Nenni initiated a progressive foreign-policy that rejected Italian participation in blocs, east or west, while at the same time proclaiming Italy's willingness to cooperate with all nations.

With the aid of other Socialist leaders—including Basso, the secretary of the party, Cabinet Ministers Morandi, Romita, and Cacciatore, and Vechietti, head of the foreign-affairs section—Nenni is now trying to repair the damage caused last January when a small right-wing faction headed by Saragat broke away from the party congress over the issue of relations with the

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Communists and formed the "Italian Socialist Workers Party." This split weakened the left and made it possible for De Gasperi to set up a new Cabinet along more conservative lines.

Of course foreign interests have also played a part in determining the character of the De Gasperi government; dollars flowing into Italy by various channels have a questionable effect. At times American financial influence takes the form of public loans, as in the case of the $100,000,000 which the Italian Premier brought back from the United States in the hope of restoring his party's waning strength in the next elections. Or it may be disguised under the euphemism of "international union solidarity." In this connection I need only quote a section of a letter sent by the Italian Socialist Party to the other European parties explaining the congress split: "Saragat and his scissionists were inspired by the Italian American Luigi Antonini, president of the Italian American Labor Council and a member of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. . . . He financed and is still financing anti-Communist movements of every description as the attached documents show. Antonini favored the secession of the Saragat group, both directly and indirectly through his agents in Italy and Switzerland."

At the January party congress Nenni delivered an extraordinary speech lasting three and a half hours in which he pointed out that collaboration with the Communists was neither a whim nor a concept peculiar to his followers but rather the logical by-product of the agreement on united action unanimously adopted by the old executive committee of which Saragat was a member. In the first days of the liberation Nenni may have been somewhat carried away by the hope of a single working-class party, but his insistence at least on unity of action between Socialists and Communists was vindicated by the victory of the two left parties in the June elections. And it is an ironic fact that Saragat, now faced with the responsibilities of leadership in his own new party, has been forced to denounce publicly the anti-Communist obsession of some of his followers and to call for closer relations with the other left forces.

While the split has undoubtedly harmed the left as a whole, it may in the long run prove beneficial to the Socialist Party. "You know," Nenni told me, "I could have, and by rights should have, expelled Saragat and his clique in 1945 when they were still a mere handful. Instead, I tried to delay the break as long as possible; in times like these every man counts, and I did not want to deprive the left of a single 'active.' But now that it has come, I must say we are all breathing easier. It was an impossible situation. Our energies were being dissipated in the effort to maintain a fiction of unity."

Developments in the last two months have justified Nenni's optimism about the future. Although Saragat's party has won over a large number of deputies, it is unlikely that his bloc will maintain its present strength in the next Assembly. "When we go to the polls in October," Nenni said to me, "we will be voting on the present, not the past. In the first elections many of the scissionists won seats merely because the rank and file remembered their names from the pre-Fascist era—they

THE CRUSADERS

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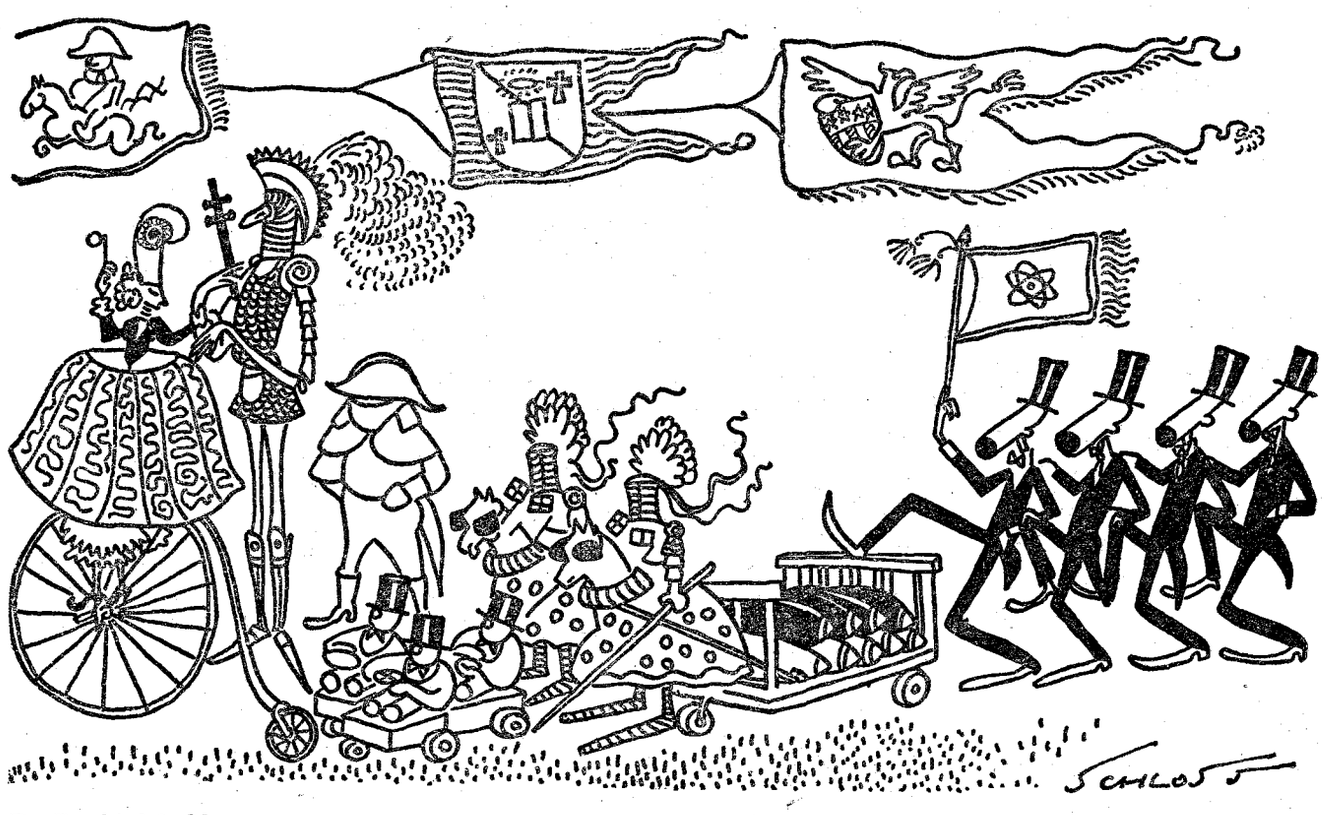
were old veterans, so to speak. This time people will vote not for names but for programs—for concepts like agrarian reform, national reconstruction, labor's rights, and consolidation of the republic." The Saragat faction unquestionably includes a number of capable and sincere men, notably Faravelli, Treves, and Calosso. Some genuine Socialists, even from the left, joined in protest against the domineering attitude of the Communists. But the membership is predominantly middle class, and its program can be summed up as a kind of Italian "new deal." Perhaps if the party stopped dressing its reformist goals in Marxist language, stopped using the hammer-and-sickle emblem, and came out frankly as a liberal bourgeois party, it might even accomplish some good.

Taking a cue from the political line laid down at the congress, the Socialist press has intensified its polemics against the reactionaries. Nor do the Socialists spare the church; their attitude on the relations of church and state under the new constitution is strongly anti-clerical. Similarly, in an editorial entitled The Shadow of the Vatican over Our Foreign Policy, *Avanti* recently took the offensive on an issue which it had avoided for several months so as not to embarrass a coalition government in which Catholics were the majority. The Vatican retaliated the same afternoon with an editorial in the *Osservatore Romano.* Incidentally it honored me with an equally prompt reply to an interview I had given *Avanti,* in which I had merely stated what is common knowledge—that the Catholic hierarchy in Spain continues to support Franco.

COMMUNIST TACTICS

The Communists, paradoxically, are hampered in the fight against Vatican power by their present strength. At the moment of the liberation they were in a leading position; since then they have experienced a series of ups and down responding to internal and international events. Since the last municipal elections, however, opinion polls show them to be again on the way up. It is difficult to make predictions about the October elections, but most observers in Rome believe that the Communists will win additional seats in the Assembly, probably at the expense of the Christian Democrats. And it is precisely for this reason they do not want to frighten the middle class and encourage opposition parties to form a united front against them. Moreover, the Communists have won a large following in the rural districts and are anxious to avoid alienating the Catholic farmers.

A strategy as intricate as this requires a leader of unusual political experience. The Italian Communist Party has such a man in Palmiro Togliatti. His fame has spread beyond left circles; people who are hostile to everything he stands for recognize his ability and remarkable intelligence. I had not seen him since the final tragic days of the Spanish war. This time as always it was a pleasure to talk to him, for unlike many Communist leaders Togliatti rarely bores his listener with hackneyed party slogans; he knows how to size up the person with whom he is speaking and does not counter serious arguments with shallow propaganda. Nor has Togliatti's extraordinary devotion to his party dulled his critical faculties. To describe him—as many do—as



By Ezekiel Schloss

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a new Machiavelli is absurd. Though he is certainly one of Italy's shrewdest political leaders, one cannot picture him as an intriguer for intrigue's sake. Togliatti's training as a lawyer—he holds a doctorate of law from the University of Turin—has served him in good stead in his current debate with the *enfant terrible* of post-war Italy, Giannini of the l'Uomo Qualunque Party. He has succeeded in splitting that dangerous semi-fascist movement by forcing Giannini to dissociate himself publicly from Emilio Patrissi and the extreme anti-Communist cabal who were his most active supporters.

The Communist leader's stiffest ordeal was Trieste. But even here he succeeded in holding to his conviction that the issue should be settled by direct negotiation between Yugoslavia and Italy without antagonizing his sensitive countrymen. The right, which had hoped to use Trieste to finish him off, was disappointed.

The real test between left and right will come in the course of the debate on the new Italian constitution. In the opening skirmish last week the Christian Democrats, Liberals, and Common-Man Front mustered a slim majority of twelve votes to knock out a Communist amendment to Article I by which the opening sentence would have read, "Italy is a democratic republic of workers." In its place the Constituent Assembly adopted a compromise wording proposed by the Christian Democrats to the effect that "Italy is a democratic republic founded on labor." Another battle will no doubt be fought over the law on the Defense of the Republic—drafted by Togliatti and approved by the Council of Ministers—which provides sanctions, including the death sentence, against Fascists and monarchists who conspire against the state.

The Vatican is concentrating its main effort on that section of the constitution which controls its relations with the state. A recent editorial in the *Osservatore Romano*—the second in three days—has already demanded the inclusion of the Lateran Agreement as an integral part of the Italian constitution. This issue is likely to find Communists and Socialists on opposite sides.

Voices Without Smiles

BY HEINZ EULAU

Washington, March 30

UNLESS a last-minute settlement breaks the impasse in the negotiations between the National Federation of Telephone Workers and the Bell Telephone System, the nation's telephone network will be shut down on April 7 by the first really country-wide, effectively coordinated strike in the industry's history. Thirty-nine unions, with jurisdiction over some 287,000 telephone workers, will participate in the walkout. They will be joined by another 55,000 workers belonging to small, independent unions.

In deciding to strike, the N. F. T. W. dares to move where much stronger C. I. O. or A. F. of L. unions fear to tread. Paralysis of the country's telephone system might hasten restrictive legislation by a hostile Congress. An inconvenienced public might be bamboozled by the Bell System's well-oiled publicity machine. Defeat might wreck the plan for a compact national union. Above all, a strike is a bottomless barrel, a belt-tightening business—especially as it will be a fight against one of the most powerful monopoly corporations in America.

The huge Bell Telephone System is controlled by the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, which owns more than nine-tenths of the voting stock of twenty-one subsidiaries. It also owns nearly all the stock of the Western Electric Company, which manufactures over 90 per cent of Bell telephone supplies and equipment. A. T. and T. directly owns and controls about 98 per cent of all United States long-distance telephone lines.

A strike against this public-utility colossus takes courage, particularly as the N. F. T. W. in no way matches the Bell System in integration and cohesiveness. The N. F. T. W. is only a loosely federated organization of forty-nine member unions, which, according to its constitution, "shall remain forever autonomous and be free from interference in the conduct of their internal affairs." Though it has organized about 75 per cent of all workers in its jurisdiction, its resources are small.

The N. F. T. W. is convinced that in the many weeks of negotiations the Bell companies have not shown good faith in collective bargaining, but have been stalling. The union demands included, in addition to a general $12 increase, a more rational system of area and town wage differentials, shortening of job-progression schedules from eight to five years, a better pension plan, improved vacations, and the union shop. The Bell System's answer to all of these demands was thumbs down. Indeed, the N. F. T. W. president, Joseph A. Beirne, charges that the Bell companies "are trying to move backward in contract matters and seek to return to conditions as they existed ten years ago." According to the union, the Bell System seeks to discard seniority provisions, leave promotions and transfers to the discretion of the company,

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reduce the number of paid holidays, and weaken sickness provisions and the grievance procedure.

The Bell System has neither confirmed nor denied these charges. With regard to the $12 demand, the Bell System contends that there "is no justification at this time for a general wage increase," and that as a public utility it should not "lead the parade" in a second round of wage raises. The union answers that it is not a matter of "leading" but of catching up with the higher wages paid in other industries. As of September, 1946, the $44 weekly average gross wage paid in the telephone industry compared unfavorably with the $49 paid in steel or the $52 paid in electric light and power.

There are fourteen different wage schedules for long-distance telephone operators alone. New York's top minimum after eight years is $44; in Memphis, Tennessee, it is only $39. Town differentials of local operators are even greater. A local operator in Detroit, Michigan, can make $45 after eight years, while in Iron River, Michigan, a small town, the top rate after seven years is only $33. In small Southern towns, like LaFollette, Alabama, the starting wage is $25, the maximum after six years $31. The national average operator's wage is $34. By contrast, most federal-government operators throughout the nation now start at about $37 a week and after eight and a half years can reach about $50.

Differentials among telephone craftsmen are equally great. While a New York long-distance technician can progress from $29 to $80 after eight years, in Denver, Colorado, the starting wage for skilled workers is $27 and the top rate after eight years is only $66. The Bell System defends area and town differentials on the theory of "prevailing rates" paid in the community.

A direct outcome of the low wages paid in the telephone industry is the enormous labor turnover among operators. A recent poll conducted by the N. F. T. W. revealed that of 73,000 operators queried, 40.7 per cent had been employed for less than one year, 15 per cent for one to two years, and so on. Only 24.1 per cent had been employed for more than five years. Last year alone the Bell System set out to hire a quarter of a million women as operators and clerks.

The Bell System seems to oversell the attractiveness of the jobs it advertises. "Featured in all types of publicity," a Bell publication states, "are those things which young women want in a job which the telephone company has to offer. Included, in addition to good pay, are convenient places of employment, interesting work, competent and friendly supervision, congenial associates . . . opportunities to get ahead, and job stability."

Once on the job, however, the young lady will learn otherwise. Instead of a convenient place of employment, she is perched on a small stool in a long line of stools, always in the same position; instead of interesting work, the job is routine and her's must be "a voice with a smile"; instead of friendly supervision, she is under constant pressure of speed, for her function is timed, analyzed, and reported. When she falls below the desired average of performance, a speed-up campaign is put on. Work is exacting and nerve-racking. And pay is low. It is not surprising that so many girls readily leave the switchboard for greener pastures.

Older telephone workers are particularly concerned with the Bell System's pension policy. Present pensions depend on the worker's years of service with the company and his average annual pay for the last ten years of employment. The minimum pension is $50 a month, and the company deducts one-half of the worker's social-security benefits. The union contends that this practice is outmoded and that the minimum should be shoved up to $100.

Continuance of the pension scheme is at the discretion of the company. This discretionary power is part of the tradition of paternalism to which the Bell companies were committed and Bell employees were accustomed for many years, and which retarded collective bargaining in the telephone industry. Company unionism long prevented an effective national labor organization which could balance the power of the Bell System. It was not until June, 1939, that the N. F. T. W. was founded.

And only last year, for the first time in the industry's history, a general increase of 18.3 cents an hour was agreed on directly between A. T. and T. and the N. F. T. W., just twenty-five minutes before the strike deadline set for March 7. When other Bell companies soon made similar settlements, it was clear that all Bell labor policy was coordinated from A. T. and T. headquarters at 165 Broadway in New York. "This concentration of authority on the company side of the bargaining table," the union stated, "should be matched by an equal degree of concentration of authority at a central point on the union side of the table."

Half a year later, therefore, N. F. T. W. delegates meeting in Denver hammered out a constitution for a strong, centralized union, the "Communications Workers of America" (C. W. A). The old autonomy clause was eliminated. The present N. F. T. W. affiliates will become integral divisions of the new union. Then the organization of forty to fifty smaller unions outside the N. F. T. W.—some really independent, some under a company's skirts—may become possible. A first convention of the C. W. A. will be held in June. But affiliation with either the C. I. O. or the A. F. of L. is not contemplated. The spirit of independence which has long kept telephone unions apart from each other is also responsible for their independence from the Big Two.

A strong telephone union is necessary, union leaders say, because the Bell System has consistently put the interests of its stockholders over those of its employees. During the depression A. T. and T. continued to pay its

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$9 dividend though net income per share fell as low as $6.52 in 1934. The working force decreased by 185,000 between 1929 and 1935. Curtailed employment and reduced wages saved the Bell companies $139,000,000 in wages in 1935 as compared with 1929. The depression shook the confidence of telephone workers in the beneficence of the Bell System.

But today telephone workers fear the future in another respect. Mechanization hangs over the telephone industry like the sword of Damocles. A. T. and T. recently issued $343,000,000 of convertible debentures and plans to sell 2,800,000 shares of stock to its employees—on an instalment plan—for the purpose of financing a huge mechanization program. It is estimated that the program may eventually displace two-thirds of the present operators' force and severely curtail job opportunities for plant-maintenance men. Only a strong union can succeed in gaining a voice in the mechanization program. A shorter work day with construction spread over a period of fifteen years could avoid unnecessary hardship. It would also allow integration of the new investment into the Bell System's indebtedness as well as continuance of the $9 dividend, and it might prevent overexpansion in case of depression.

As this article goes to press, the N. F. T. W. has invited A. T. and T. to enter into company-wide negotiations. But the Bell mother company turned this offer down on the ground that the subsidiaries are the sole bargaining agents of the system. Yet about this same time Bell companies in various parts of the country made to N. F. T. W. affiliates almost identical offers to arbitrate wages alone. It was additional proof that while Bell decisions are made by A. T. and T., the system prefers to deal with the local unions, because their strength is dispersed.

In this critical situation any sign of weakness on the N. F. T. W.'s part would also be a sign of its relative immaturity. The union knows that it has much to lose in case of defeat, but even more to gain in case of victory. Strike is a chance which every union has to take when all other means of winning its demands are exhausted—even in the case of a privately owned public utility.

Mountbatten's Task in India

BY SHIVA RAO

New Delhi, March 17

BY THE end of this week Lord Mountbatten will have taken charge of the Indian administration. As though to remind him of the spacious setting of India's problem, the Asian-relations conference will begin its proceedings simultaneously with his assumption of the viceroyalty. From Egypt, Iran, and the Arab countries of the Middle East, from Burma, Malaya, and the Philippines, from China and Mongolia, from five Soviet republics—from all countries of Asia barring Japan—representatives will attend.

This conference, conceived by Nehru before he became the head of the Indian government and sponsored by the non-official Indian Council of World Affairs, is the biggest event in Asia since the end of the war. It will foster cultural and economic ties between the different countries of Asia and facilitate a common approach to many of their problems—scientific and agricultural research, health, nutrition, women's problems, labor, and so on. It will remind the Viceroy of Attlee's historic phrase used last year that politically India could be the Light of Asia.

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Many internal problems will demand Mountbatten's immediate and anxious attention. Writing three weeks ago, I told *The Nation's* readers that the Punjab had escaped so far the horrors and large-scale riots which had disgraced the neighboring provinces, but that none could tell how long this immunity would last. Within a few days of the publication of this dispatch the Punjab was plunged into terrible civil strife. There have been mass murder, arson, and destruction of property on a colossal scale. The worst phase of the mob fury is probably over, but it will take a long time to restore normal conditions and mutual confidence.

What was the cause of this terrible outburst? Partly, it was the spirit of retaliation for tragic events elsewhere. In Behar, predominantly a Hindu province, the Moslems had suffered heavy casualties during the riots of last fall. The Punjab has a population that is 54 per cent Moslem, the rest being Hindus and Sikhs. It is a rich province with a prosperous peasantry, and until recently it enjoyed a virtual monopoly of the recruitment for the Indian army, which meant that large sums out of the central government's defense budget were spent there for roads, railways, pay and pensions for soldiers, and the like.

Demobilization hit the province hard, and the unemployment problem became acute. Private armies consisting of demobilized soldiers grew up under the guise

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of volunteer movements. Politically the Moslem League has been nursing a sense of grievance and frustration. With only 80 members in the provisional legislature out of a total of 175, it could not form a ministry last year. The Punjab is the region in Northwest India vital for Jinnah's conception of Pakistan, and tactically it was becoming increasingly necessary for the Moslem League to capture its administration. Since the lack of a majority prevented the overthrow of the ministry by parliamentary methods, the league's leader decided to attempt a coup d'état. A direct-action campaign demoralized the ministry, paralyzed the administration for thirty-three days, and forced the Congress Party out of office.

Then, on February 20, came the Labor Cabinet's dramatic declaration that Britain would withdraw from India by June, 1948. Vitally important for the Moslem League was the proviso that in the absence of a single central government at that stage Britain would consider whether the central power should be distributed among the provinces or areas not acknowledging New Delhi's present authority.

There has been some extremely rapid thinking on all sides as a consequence of the British declaration. The Moslem League considers it essential to maintain control over Bengal and Sind, where it is in power, and is consolidating its strength in the Punjab and the Northwest Frontier Province—in the latter the same technique is now being employed to defeat the Congress ministry that proved successful last month in the Punjab. When the fateful hour of British withdrawal arrives, Pakistan, under this plan, would be ready to receive its share of the central authority. The Hindus and Sikhs argue differently. West Bengal, including Calcutta, is predominately Hindu. The East Punjab, with the Ravi River cutting the province as a dividing line, has a combined Hindu and Sikh majority. Congress leaders have urged, therefore, the partition of Bengal and the Punjab as an immediate solution. But the Moslem League fears partition as a first step in the detachment of West Bengal and East Punjab next year, leaving a truncated Pakistan.

Mountbatten's arrival will revive questions which have temporarily receded into the background as a consequence of Wavell's enforced retirement. First, will the Moslem League remain inside the interim government and continue to boycott the Constitutional Assembly? Second, will the interim government have all the powers and status of a dominion during the next fourteen months? Third, assuming that the Moslem League refuses to enter the Constitutional Assembly, need the Congress leaders strictly adhere to the British plan—especially the limited union center? Fourth, can the princes go ahead in supporting the Constitutional Assembly without the Moslem League?

These questions Mountbatten must tackle without delay. If he keeps steadily before him Attlee's vision of India as the political light of Asia, he can hew a way for himself through the complexities and seeming contradictions of Indian politics. Anxious weeks lie ahead while he is evolving his line of action. The Moslem League and those princes who have not yet taken a final decision regarding the Constitutional Assembly will want to see whether he wholeheartedly accepts the policy of the Labor government. If he does, many British reactionaries now busy fighting rearguard actions will disappear rapidly from the Indian scene. That alone will greatly simplify the Indian problem.

The question of supreme importance is no longer whether Britain will quit India. The date having been set, it is for Mountbatten to decide whether India will assume control of its destiny after a smooth and cooperative transition, as Nehru hopes, or only after continued bloodshed and civil strife. India and all Asia also wait to see whether Mountbatten will encourage the establishment of social democracy by refusing to take cognizance of vested interests—be they princes or landlords or big business.

Land Without Conflict

BY MARTIN GUMPERT

THE Governor of the Virgin Islands is William H. Hastie, former federal judge, at one time civilian adviser to Secretary Forrestal, educated at Amherst and Harvard, and colored. The acting governor, Morris F. de Castro, who has been connected with the administration of the islands for more than twenty-five years, is a member of a Sephardic Jewish family which has lived in St. Thomas for several hundred years. The official driver of the governor's car for thirty years has been Ludwig Heidmann, of German and Danish descent. There could be no better men for any of these jobs. Nobody on the islands would dream of making an issue of their racial or national background.

The great discovery of a trip to the Virgin Islands is that here is a part of America without racial strife—here is no anti-Semitism, no discrimination against the colored, or the white. To be sure, the son of a rich Pittsburgh family has organized his hotel as a sort of club in order to keep Negroes out, but this solecism is graciously ignored.

On the terrace of Bluebeard's Castle, a government-owned modern hotel built around an ancient pirate's stronghold, a steel executive from a Southern state confided to me: "If anybody had told me I would ever call a nigger Mister, I'd have said he was crazy." My companion was puzzled but obviously somewhat pleased by his unexpected tolerance. This is what the air of St. Thomas does to one. At dinner time, Americans of all creeds and colors and several prominent local people,

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colored men of dignity and culture, come together, without any signs of social uneasiness, to enjoy the beautiful view of the azure Caribbean, the red and green roofs of the town, the multi-colored hills.

St. Thomas was once a shipping center for the Hamburg-American line—the entrance to the courthouse still bears the emblems of HAPAG. Indeed, German sympathies among the natives remained strong until World War II when the ship "Horst Wessel," manned by young Nazis, appeared in port and it was announced that any German sailor caught talking to a black man would go to jail. That was the end of Hitler in St. Thomas.

Of course, the islands have their problems. The public treasury has a deficit. Housing is inadequate. There is unemployment. But the atmosphere—to the visitor—seems radically different from Puerto Rico, only a few air minutes away. Hopelessness is in the air there. The Spanish and Anglo-Saxon elements are incompatible.

On the Virgin Islands everybody speaks English—though the street signs are still in Danish; everybody is friendly, relaxed, and serene. Walking, driving, working are done in slow motion without anybody's growing impatient. The visitor is soon affected by a sweet laziness. For this reason the Virgin Islands are an ideal place for rest. The landscape is one of the most beautiful ever seen; the climate is nearly perfect all the year round. Beaches are dreamlike—snow-white sand, crystal-clear water, a fringe of cocoanut palms and sea grapes.

The war-time rum boom is over. If the United States were to refund the import duties on rum—as was done in Puerto Rico—the local administration would have more than enough money to undertake the necessary program of rehabilitation and construction which has been planned for many years. The Virgin Islands are waiting for ten million dollars which Congress has appropriated but not yet sent.

Rumors of prejudice against the colored governor seem to be without foundation. Governor Hastie has just come back from Washington, where he was received by the Republican leaders in an encouraging manner.

It is obvious that the Virgin Islands have a future as one of the most enchanting resort places of this earth. Army and navy officers, including an admiral, have settled here since the war. A New York physician has bought an island. There is a real-estate boom, and prices for lots already are on a Westchester scale. Just now the limited facilities for travelers are frightfully overtaxed. But one hears about great undertakings, and much as one may regret an invasion of tourists, the development of St. Thomas into a Caribbean Capri seems inevitable.

A health resort must be healthful, and the health situation on the islands deserves first priority. When I left St. Thomas a few weeks ago, pipes for a new covered sewage system were piling up by the roadside. Its construction would give employment and at the same time eliminate one of the greatest health hazards. St. Thomas has only a small hospital, more than a hundred years old and inadequate in almost every respect. X-ray therapy is not available, and much other essential equipment is lacking. The Commissioner of Health is an old gentleman of Danish descent, Dr. Knud Knud-Hansen, who arrived in the islands in 1908. He has the authority and wisdom of an experienced general practitioner, and his associates are well-trained, intelligent, able colored physicians. But they cannot work efficiently without tools. Recently the United States Children's Bureau has lent its aid in alleviating distress among the native children. This work is supported half by United States money and half by local assessments. The psychopathic ward in the St. Thomas hospital is a scandal; however, that can also be said of big cities in the United States. The tuberculosis wards are not much better.

A visit to St. Croix, the largest of the islands, is a real adventure. The plane lands on an airfield in the middle of the island, and the visitor suddenly finds himself in a quaint rococo setting. There are two small towns, Fredrikstad and Christianstad, where life has been completely at a standstill for 150 years. This island should be able to supply vegetables, grain, and cattle to all the Virgin Islands, but at present it is far from doing so. Private capital has completely retired, and the government has had to take over the extensive sugar plantations. St. Croix operates at a substantial loss and each year has to beg Congress to make up a deficit. There is a small hospital headed by an able American doctor.

One is not surprised to find the world's oldest scourge in this hideout—leprosy. Forty-five patients are interned in the leper colony, and an equal number live on probation with their families. About twenty cases are now being treated with promizol, a new sulfa compound. But $3,000 annually is needed for the drug and funds are inadequate. All the patients are natives, quite a dangerously high number. According to the last reports from the National Leprosarium in Carville, Louisiana, leprosy can now be arrested, and the necessary measures should be taken in St. Croix without delay. A still worse situation is that some 17 per cent of the inhabitants of St. Croix suffer from filariasis. This serious endemic condition, most difficult to treat, requires an extensive war of prevention against the insects which transmit it.

The history of this Caribbean paradise is one of cruel suffering, bound up, quite innocently, with events in Europe. The gigantic slave trade had its center here, and the soil is drenched with the blood of slave rebellions. A pleasanter incident to recall is the visit of President Roosevelt in 1934. In the memory of the islanders this visit is as vivid as if it had taken place yesterday. Roosevelt did more than sightsee. He visited the sore spots; he talked to the leprosy patients. His presence marked the beginning of progress and social improvement.

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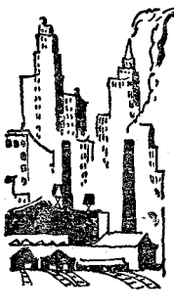

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

KEITH HUTCHISON

Undistributed Profits

SINCE corporations are the source of a great deal of taxable income, an efficient income-tax law must provide safeguards against evasion through corporation hoarding of profits. One means to that end was blocked when the undistributed-profits tax was repealed in 1938, but in the same year Section 102 of the Internal Revenue Code, which imposes a heavy surtax on "unreasonable accumulations" of surplus profits, was amended so as to shift the burden of proof from the Treasury to the corporation. During the war this section was not rigorously enforced: from the point of view of inflation control it was undesirable to encourage larger dividend payments. But in recent months the Internal Revenue Bureau has been reminding corporations that the law stands and instructing those that retain more than 30 per cent of their profits to explain why that is necessary.

The Treasury's interest in the disbursement of a goodly proportion of corporate earnings is obvious. Corporate profits, whether distributed or not, are subject to a 38 per cent income-tax rate. Whatever is paid out in dividends is assessed for personal income tax at whatever rate is appropriate to the receiver. In the case of stockholders in the higher brackets this means that 50 per cent and upward of their income from investments must be handed over to the government; so that they naturally prefer to have a considerable part of their share of corporation earnings "saved" for them by additions to surplus. Eventually, if tax rates are lowered, such a surplus could provide a welcome "melon"; alternatively, a corporation's mounting surplus may be reflected in its Stock Exchange quotation, making possible capital gains on which the tax, for those in the higher brackets, is much lower than on ordinary income.

In the bountiful twenties, when Andrew Mellon reigned over the Treasury, little was done to discourage tax-dodging by this device, and no one bothered very much about the legal restraints on "unreasonable accumulation." But now that Internal Revenue indicates that the law will be enforced, corporate interests are beginning to call indignantly for its repeal. The *Journal of Commerce*, for instance, has been carrying on a steady campaign against what it calls "an obsolete penalty tax." Section 102, it has charged, serves to discourage many corporations from the reinvestment of their earnings in the modernization and expansion of their plants. It forces them to pay out in dividends greater sums than are justified by business conditions, particularly in times like these when swollen inventories call for large cash reserves.

A favorite argument is that the penalty tax is a particular burden on small corporations, which cannot easily secure additional capital from investors and hence can only expand by plowing back profits. There is no reason to suppose, however, that Internal Revenue, or the Tax Court to which appeal can be made, will interpret Section 102 in such a way as to mulct small concerns which can show good cause for the retention of profits. The tax collectors are after such quarries as the closely held corporation which, instead of paying dividends, makes "loans" to its stockholders or uses its earnings for investments quite extraneous to its proper business. They are also, I hope, after the really large corporations which grudgingly dole out dividends and use the greater part of their profits for "empire-building."

There is, in fact, good reason to suspect that much of this concern for the little fellows is camouflage for the big boys. In this particular battle the giants must try to hide behind the pigmies, since they cannot very well employ their usual tactics of pushing the small shareholder out in front. For in the matter of dividend disbursements the interest of the small shareholder differs from that of his big brother and parallels to some extent that of the Treasury.

Naturally, Mr. Doe who owns ten shares in National Gadgets does not enjoy paying a tax on the dividends he receives, but he probably enjoys still less the fact that the management of the company only lets him have $2 per share to be taxed when it is earning $10 a share and, with a strong liquid position, could easily disburse $7. He has good reason, therefore, to cheer the Treasury's efforts to discourage unnecessary additions to the company's surplus. As a writer in *Barron's* of June 17, 1946, put it, "Forced payment of dividends may be a handicap to some companies which want to expand but haven't blueprinted that growth. The alternative is for them to market new securities to raise additional capital. In that case the stockholder has the opportunity to make the decision on whether or not to put in his share of the new capital, whereas retention of earnings deprives him of that decision."

A study of corporation reports for 1946 suggests that a great many large concerns have either ignored the Treasury's warnings or feel that they have convincing reasons for retaining more than 30 per cent of their earnings. The accounts of fourteen leading companies, selected more or less at random from my files, show an aggregate profit of $519,910,000, of which 55.5 per cent was distributed to shareholders. But this proportion is swollen by the inclusion of two supercorporations, du Pont and United States Steel, which accounted for nearly two-fifths of the profits and paid out 75.8 and 67.6 per cent respectively. The other twelve collectively allowed stockholders only 45 per cent of net earnings, with the proportions ranging from 31.1 per cent in the case of Goodyear Tire and Rubber to 59 per cent for National Biscuit.

I should like to suggest that stockholders who attend company meetings—all too small a band—should exercise their rights and ask the chairman for an explanation if the company has retained more than 30 per cent of its 1946 earnings. They should inquire what reasons have been supplied to Internal Revenue and whether management has risked the imposition of a penalty surtax which will be paid, of course, out of their funds. And they should not permit themselves to be fobbed off by vague talk about the importance of expansion. Constant growth is not necessarily a sign of corporate health, and expansion is sometimes motivated not by sound economics but by managerial paranoia.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

World War III

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE WORLD. By James Burnham. The John Day Company. $3.

JAMES BURNHAM has written a vigorous pamphlet setting forth the inevitability of war against the Soviet Union. Hostilities, indeed, began in April, 1944, when the mutiny of the Greek sailors at Alexandria first disclosed the Soviet decision to wage covert war against the West; and total war "may begin at any moment, today, tomorrow; it may have begun before these sentences are published."

The inevitability of war, Burnham argues, is rooted in the oneness of one world. Western civilization has reached the point where conditions demand the establishment of a "universal empire." (The book is saturated with Toynbee.) Only two power centers are adequate to meet this challenge. Their simultaneous existence, by leaving little room for an old-style balance-of-power settlement, introduces an intolerable disequilibrium into world politics; and the discovery of atomic weapons makes the race for supremacy all the more urgent. Communism, with its Russian base, has begun its well-organized and ruthless drive to conquer world power, while the United States flounders, irresolute and confused, unwilling to grasp world leadership.

The Soviet challenge is unlimited and irrevocable. Accordingly, Burnham goes on, the United States must meet that challenge by every means at its disposal. It must outlaw the Communist Party wherever it can, oppose Communists wherever they appear, support all elements fighting communism, whether Attlee, Chiang Kai-shek, or Franco. It must deliberately undertake a policy of building up what Burnham calls variously an American Empire or a democratic world order by political and economic pressure always backed by a readiness to use force. For practical reasons Burnham excludes a preventive war, though he writes wistfully, "Smaller, shorter, and easier wars are, as a rule, better than bigger, longer, and more difficult wars. And if by 'winning a war' we mean the outcome more favorable to what we believe in, it seems better to win a war than to lose it."

Even for a writer with Burnham's talent for the apocalyptic, "The Struggle for the World" is quite a mouthful. It is a superb job of pamphleteering—clear, fast, vivid, arrogant, making its points with the implacable certainty of a trip-hammer. The present copyright owners would no doubt reject a comparison with Tom Paine, but ground for the comparison is certainly there. Because it is a pamphlet, it contains little that is new in the way of fact or insight; because it is a pamphlet, one need not pause to quarrel with its exaggerations, its oversimplifications, its dogmatisms, and its inaccuracies. The fact remains that Burnham has presented in systematic and passionate form a perfectly serious case.

One can hardly deny, in the first place, that Burnham has given an accurate statement of the maximum Communist position. No serious Communist would deny communism's global aspirations, though he would describe the end-product in more optimistic language. The basic question is whether the maximum position is inevitable in Soviet policy, or whether there is also a minimum position to which the Soviet Union may be held down by proper United States policy. Burnham would answer no; but writers can afford an irresponsibility in these matters not available to statesmen. In the nature of democratic politics, in the light of his own sense of responsibility, Secretary Marshall cannot assume that the maximum position is inevitable until the evidence for this assumption is overwhelming—until, as Burnham would doubtless say, it is too late.

Marshall must thus undertake to surround Russia by a complex of pressures which will constrain it to a minimum position. The Washington theory of containment—despite the Communist claims to the contrary—has tended toward what is known as the policy of supporting the non-Communist left, on the ground that the Chiang Kai-sheks are not only nasty people but also bad practical investments. In theory Burnham might agree. "The United States will not win the peoples [of the world] to her side," he writes, ". . . unless her leadership is anti-totalitarian, unless she can make herself the instrument of the hope, not the fear, of mankind." But in practice he feels so close to Armageddon that he solicits all allies: we must fight first and reconstruct afterward.

These are judgments of timing and history on which wide difference of opinion is possible. It is conceivable, for example, that commitments to groups whose only virtue is anti-communism may encourage such groups to precipitate a conflict while they see a chance to involve the United States on their side. It is conceivable that a positive pro-democratic, non-Communist left policy might by itself check Soviet expansionism long enough for the tempo to change and the missionary zeal to die down. So long as these things are conceivable—and doubtless long after given democratic inertia, liberal confusion, and bourgeois cowardice—we will reject Burnham's crusade.

This Burnham fully recognizes. He intelligently divides his analysis into what ought to be done—the renunciation of power; what could be done—the policy of the democratic world order; and what will be done—the policy of vacillation. "The usual American conception of foreign policy," as he admirably puts it, "is an uneasy combination of abstract moral sentiment with short-term selfish interests, both projected without any reference to world political facts." You may expect, Burnham prophesies, that Communists and isolationists alike will unite to block a positive American policy. Though events have disappointed Burnham's anticipation that war might come before his book was published, they have been kind to this last prediction. The debate over Greece has already revived the old 1940 alliance

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between the party-liners and the America Firsters. As Burnham points out, the practical meaning of both appeasement and isolation is simply: no interference with the Communists. The Progressive Citizens of America and the Chicago *Tribune* have now clasped hands in this interesting joint effort.

"Struggle for the World" is an able presentation of an allowable viewpoint. Those who argue, when pro-Soviet authors are involved, that truth should be settled by the competition of the market-place, are now inclining to say that this book should never have been published. This is presumably in accord with Professor Schuman's remarkable dictum that "all utterances and acts of politicians and publicists . . . will ultimately be weighed . . . in terms of this stark and simple issue: do they contribute to Anglo-American-Soviet unity?" In the current version, we are to reject all skepticism about Soviet infallibility or Communist virtue because it strengthens the hand of the "war party." Arguments considered beneath contempt when urged by conservatives against the foes of Nazi totalitarianism are now trotted out complacently by liberals against the foes of Soviet totalitarianism. The arguments do not improve with age and use.

Burnham is, of course, a romantic, given to intellectual freewheeling of a wide and handsome variety. He cheerfully omits, for example, the whole rather crucial problem of American economic stability. Yet, on the whole, one must prefer his brand of romantic Machiavellianism, even with its theatrical strokes and operatic colors, to the confused and messy arguments of the appeasers. Still one is glad that he is not Secretary of State.

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR.

The Children

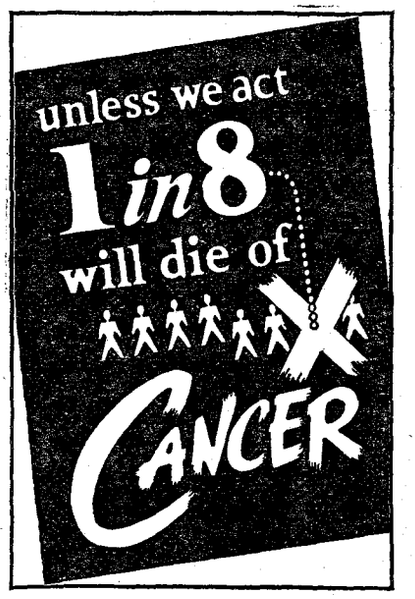
THE MOUNTAIN LION. By Jean Stafford. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.75.

AN UGLY little girl's love for her brother and his for her have been given life in this novel with such amusing ease that you barely realize how good and painful it is. We sometimes say of children that their experiences are just as big and important to them as ours are to us—which is one of those nice remarks that make intelligent children decide, for their part, that adults are most of them terrible fools. We had better admit that what children feel may without qualification be important and tragic, as this novelist implies. "The Mountain Lion" is a little like Richard Hughes's "Innocent Voyage" in taking the children's side, but it does so with less pointed inhumanity; it is not a tour de force.

I have not read "Boston Adventure"; so I know only at second hand that in her first novel Jean Stafford showed a debt to Proust. If, as I gather, the debt was paid in some excess or monstrosity of style, she has now worked quite free of that; or at least she has been able to cut it out completely for her purposes in this story. The writing in "The Mountain Lion" has a great deal of subtlety, but it is all in turns and suggestions rather than in elaboration, and you can enjoy it without paying much attention to it. Just often enough, for example, the last part of a sentence will have a specific twist that creates everything:

> Looking up into the blank blue sky, she could feel that she was barefoot in the hot sand, hunting starfish and sand dollars, hearing the cries of the frightened ladies to their wading children, who petulantly cried back that the waves were not high.
>
> He went out to the porch and sat motionless in the swing, hearing his sister sobbing and heaving about on the lounge.

Often, too, the writing about principal characters takes on particularity with a light flavor of their own or others' clichés. This may come from Joyce, if anyone cares to make the point, but I can't think of any recent prose that does it so delicately or so well. When she lets her people talk, Miss Stafford has a selective ear and is as tender about recording the children's friends as she is deadly in quoting their enemies. Grandpa Kenyon, a friend, endears himself to us like a blend of Sam Houston and W. C. Fields when he says: "Just bring your grandpa a small tumbler. I have in my valise here a quart bottle of Bourbon drinking whiskey which I had the good fortune



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to purchase in El Paso at a king's ransom. . . ." The Reverend Follansbee, an enemy, combines sanctimony and Murdstonism to the point of parody: " 'You little cad,' he said between his teeth, 'you get down on your knees and beg your mother's pardon. On your *knees!*' "

Ralph Fawcett, who is ten, leans on his sister Molly's level-headed support in this as in other crises, even though her eight-year-old adoration has begun to oppress him badly. Their pretty elder sisters, Leah and Rachel, have already begun, by betraying childhood, what promises to be a lifelong betrayal of the human race; their fluttery mother is less an ancestor to Ralph and Molly than the savory old cattleman whom they passionately admire. Their own severe love story falls simply into three divisions of three chapters each: a beginning, a middle, and an end. First there is the death of Grandpa Kenyon and its effect on the children; then the growth of self-realization and separateness and the death of childhood in both Molly and Ralph; then Ralph's liberation in Molly's death. The action carries them through six years to the adolescence that Ralph can survive and Molly cannot.

Everything happens either at home in Covina, California, or at their Uncle Claude's ranch in Colorado. The period is the middle 1920's, and one of the pleasantest things about the book is the way in which that is settled by a few allusions which can be exactly valued only by readers who were growing up in that time. The children, for example, remember that when they visited St. Louis with their mother, "all summer long Mrs. Fawcett and Mrs. Waite had had whispered conversations about Fatty Arbuckle so that Ralph and Molly were in a temper the whole time. . . ." And when Ralph commends to his sister a new girl whom they meet at the ranch, Molly coldly reserves judgment by saying, "She has Nell Brinkley hair."

Molly is a creature of funny precocity and awful pathos. I am so fond of her that I am not sure on what grounds I resist the artistic propriety of her violent death at the end of the novel. There is, in fact, a certain weakness of contrivance in the last chapters, the waiting and maneuvering by which the mountain lion, Goldilocks (Ralph's Golden Fleece), is brought within range of the boy's fatal rifle. But since it is Ralph's story as well as Molly's there is not much doubt that the novelist is justified in her rigor. There is not much doubt, either, that Molly's end has a tragic mercy after the last episode that we spend with her, odd and forlorn in her bath tub and then adding her own name, in final bitterness, to the list of unforgivables in her diary.

The novel is as good in its way as Elizabeth Bowen's "Death of the Heart." It is less polished, but it may be profounder in accounting for what the children suffer. They suffer from the burden and scariness of being themselves and from the hopelessness of their being inseparable, and beneath the local and satiric pleasure of the story this is put so strongly that, though you read it with amusement, you will feel it aching in you like a tooth for days.

ROBERT FITZGERALD

HENRY WALLACE
AN UNAUTHORIZED BIOGRAPHY
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Imagination and Reality

TRANSPORT TO SUMMER. By Wallace Stevens. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50.

WALLACE STEVENS is one of the best poets of the past half-century. If he has never had the popularity of Robert Frost, or the international reputation of T. S. Eliot or Ezra Pound, he has, nevertheless, been fortunate in the criticism that he has received. R. P. Blackmur's essay in "The Double Agent" is a masterpiece of imaginative elucidation. Ivor Winters's essay in "The Anatomy of Nonsense" is less brilliant, and its dismissal of Stevens's later work appears to me to be overdone. But Winters's evaluation is a corrective to Blackmur's appreciation; and by combining the two essays one can come to a calmer and more objective understanding of Stevens than is, perhaps, possible with any other contemporary American writer.

A few poems in "Transport to Summer" are better than anything that Stevens has written since "Harmonium," but the earlier book is far more exciting and successful as a whole. Before I praise what is wonderful in Stevens, I shall try to describe briefly what I think are his principal themes, his faults in general, and the ways in which he has developed or deteriorated.

The subject throughout Stevens's poems is the imagination, and its search for forms, myths, or metaphors that will make the real and the experienced coherent without distortion or simplification.

> You must become an ignorant man again
> And see the sun again with an ignorant eye
> And see it clearly in the idea of it.

This is a threefold process: the stripping away of dead forms, the observation of naked reality, and the construction of new and more adequate forms. In his later poems Stevens often uses an elaborate machinery of abstractions, but what he is saying has changed very little. His world is an impartial, hedonistic, speculative world—he is closer to Plato than to Socrates, and closer to the philosophy and temperament of George Santayana than to Plato. Directly or indirectly much of his thought is derived from the dialectical idealism of Hegel.

The detachment and flexibility of a poet who can say in one place that Christianity is too nebulous, in another that it is too rigid, and in another that "the death of Satan is a tragedy/for the imagination" are disarming. But perhaps Stevens is too much the leisured man of taste. As with Santayana, one feels that the tolerance and serenity are a little too blandly appropriated, that a man is able to be an imagination and the imagination able to be disinterested and urbane only because it is supported by industrial slaves. Perhaps if there are to be Platonists, there must always be slaves. In any case, Stevens has little of the hard ugliness and virtue of Socrates. His places are places visited on a vacation, his people are essences, and his passions are impressions. Many of his poems are written in a manner that is excessively playful, suave, careless, and monotonous. And their rhetoric, with its Tennysonian sound effects, its harmonious alliteration, and its exotic vocabulary, is sometimes no more than an enchanting inflection of the voice.

The later poems are more philosophical, and consider many things in this

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world of darkness ("Lenin on a bench beside a lake disturbed/The swans. He was not the man for swans") which the Stevens of "Harmonium" would have excluded as unpoetic. His language is simpler and more mature. But structural differences makes all that has been gained precarious. Nothing like the dense, large-scale organization of his Sunday Morning, or even the small perfection of his Peter Quince at the Clavier, is attempted. The philosophy is not exhaustive and marshaled as in Lucretius; and it is seldom human and dramatic as in Donne. When one first reads this poetry that juggles its terminology with such lightness and subtlety, one is delighted; but as one rereads, it too often appears muddled, thin, and repetitious. How willingly one would exchange much of it for the concrete, gaudy wit of "Harmonium."

The points that I have been making are probably overstated, and they are necessarily simplified. But few poets of Stevens's stature have tossed off so many half-unfinished improvisations. Underneath their intellectual obscurity and whimsey, their loose structures, their rhetorical and imagistic mannerisms, and their tenuous subject matter, there seems to be something in the poet that protects itself by asserting that it is not making too great an effort.

The best poems in "Transport to Summer" are as good as anyone is writing in English. Notes Toward a Supreme Fiction, the longest poem in the book, is a sequence in three parts, entitled: It Must Be Abstract, It Must Change, and It Must Give Pleasure. Each part has ten sections consisting of twenty-one blank-verse lines arranged in groups of three. In spite of a few beautiful sections—particularly *Begin, ephebe, by perceiving; The first idea was not our own; Not to be realized; It feels good as it is; The great statue;* and *A lasting visage*—and many fine moments, the whole seems to me to be unsuccessful. Its structure is sloppy, idiosyncratic, and repetitious. It rambles and rambles without gathering volume, and many of the sections are padded to fill out their twenty-one lines. Much of the rhetoric is extremely mannered. Certain details, such as Canon Asperin, and Nanzia Nunzio Confronting Ozymandias, seem written for Stevens's private amusement. Of the shorter poems, I think the best is No Possum, No Sop, No Taters. It is objective and subtle in its rhythms and perceptions, and is certainly one of Stevens's most magical and perfect slighter pieces. Other small poems in "Transport to Summer" approach it in excellence but are imperfect, or have much less to them. Dutch Graves in Bucks County is much grander and more ambitious. The past and the present are opposed thematically:

> Angry men and furious machines
> Swarm from the little blue of the horizon
> To the great blue of the middle height.
> Men scatter throughout the clouds.
> The wheels are too large for any noise . . .
> And you, my semblables, in gaffer-green,
> Know that the past is not part of the present.

It is written with tremendous feeling, pathos, and power. I think that no living poet would be able to match the

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magnificence of its rhetoric and resonance. A few lines are slightly mannered, and there is something a little long, formless, and vague about its development. But it is a very large undertaking wonderfully executed.

Esthétique du Mal is a sequence in fifteen blank-verse sections. It is about as good and important a poem as T. S. Eliot's Four Quartets or Ash Wednesday. Its subject is: How shall the imagination act when confronted with pain and evil? The structure is not very tight, two or three sections are not particularly good, and several others have a great number of bad or over-written lines. The good parts can be detached, but they lose some of their momentum. But Esthétique du Mal is more in the grand manner than any poetry since Yeats's; and it reminds one of parts of "Cymbeline" and "The Winter's Tale" —slow and rapid, joining the gorgeous with the very simple, wise, elaborate, open, tolerant without apathy, understanding with the understanding of having lived long.

The death of Satan was a tragedy
For the imagination. A capital
Negation destroyed him in his tenement
And, with him, many blue phenomena.
It was not the end he had foreseen. He knew
That his revenge created filial
Revenges. And negation was eccentric.
It had nothing of the Julian thundercloud:
The assassin flash and rumble. . . . He was denied.
Phantoms, what have you left? What underground?
What place in which to be is not enough
To be? You go, poor phantoms, without place
Like silver in the sheathing of the sight
When the eye closes. . . .

ROBERT LOWELL

INCLUDED IN THE CURRENT ISSUE
THOMAS MANN & KARL KERÉNYI
Mythology and the Novel
MARIO PRAZ
Italian Literary Scene
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Satire on Behaviorists
CHIMERA — *A Literary Quarterly*
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The Innocents

THE ANGELIC AVENGERS. By Pierre Andrezel. Random House. $3.

OF Isak Dinesen's earlier work I have read only enough to have a great appetite for more, and to feel that a serious appraisal of it is in order, for it is surely a very long time since any foreigner writing in English has made so striking an asset of the fact; and it will probably be longer before aristocratic prejudice is turned again so beautifully to the uses of moral irony. Unfortunately I am unable to judge how far this novel, which is said to have appeared first in Denmark and to have been written under a second pseudonym for reasons of war-time security, departs from the author's previous standards. For skill she could hardly have done better; but the moral substance of the book gives an impression that the weight of events has pushed her this time into a sphere in which her best talents are not in play. The upper reaches of her irony are missing, and though the restraint and the delicate acid touch that are among her gifts are there, they cannot, of course, provide final conviction for so bold a tale of good and evil, or save it as a horror story from the literalness that James warned himself against in connection with "The Turn of the Screw." It is therefore something of a wonder, a wonder of pure narrative skill, that until near the end the story is as breath-taking as it is.

The angelic avengers in question are two innocent young English girls who in the year 1840, through a rather bizarre set of circumstances, find themselves taken in as wards by a literally diabolical English pastor and his wife. These two, it turns out, have for some years been using their French farmhouse as a base of operations in the white-slave traffic. But the real story is in the effects of the knowledge of evil on an innocent mind, and its turning-point comes not with the full revelation of horror, but with the girls' decision to fight it, helpless as they are, rather than escape; and the final drama concerns their triumph not over the outside evil but over their own sense of contamination from it. These are such depths as Hawthorne moved in—one thinks especially of Hilda in "The Marble Faun" —but here the tale is brought to a happy ending of Jane Austen proportions that does little justice to what has preceded, and even less to the great political parallels that the reader is always conscious of, as the author too must have been. The trouble is that evil here is too literally theological, and therefore dates, as James's horror does not, and calls up questions that it ought to be protected against. What the story is designed to say is that good can triumph in the world, but this book will not convince the Jews of it. The blue-blood angle is also a little embarrassing in this context; which only drives one back with more impatience, if one has not finished them, and perhaps if one has, to the pure, if elaborate, delights of the "Seven Gothic Tales."

ELEANOR CLARK

Africa

THE WORLD AND AFRICA. By W. E. Burghardt DuBois. The Viking Press. $3.

"THE trouble with the world," remarked old Artemus Ward, "ain't *that* people don't know, but that they know what ain't so." A sad experience like this must have prompted the Director of Special Research for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to write what amounts to a comprehensive story of the Africans' contributions to world civilization, and of the white peoples' deliberate attempts to ignore or efface these achievements. The late German explorer, Frobenius, insisted that the idea of the "barbarous" Negro was a European invention. Actually, the various Negro and Negroid peoples in Africa, including Egyptians, Ethiopians, and Nubians, had had a decisive influence upon the development of culture among the Israelites, Persians, Greeks, Romans, and other ancient nations. West African Negroes knew the art of smelting iron long before the Europeans. Three early popes were of African birth. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the cultural level of Africa was equal or superior to that of large parts of Europe.

The Negro's moral and intellectual deterioration coincided with the introduction of slavery by the white man. Dr. DuBois narrates bitterly the story of the shameless exploitation of the colored races by the various white powers: "The colonial system caused

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ten times more deaths than actual war." A disgusting by-product of this system was the theory of racially superior and inferior peoples, intended to furnish the slaveholders with a moral justification of their crimes. There were countless, often gigantic revolts of slaves; when, finally, the slave trade was abolished, it was not so much for humanitarian as for economic reasons.

Dr. DuBois places before the reader numerous little-known facts concerning the population of a continent four times the size of the United States, and he emphasizes to what a large extent Europe and America were built on the sweat and blood of African laborers.

ALFRED WERNER

A Small Thing

POEMS, 1938–1945. By Robert Graves. Creative Age Press. $2.

HE WRITES exceedingly well on all the forty small pages. Every word is pulling its weight; there is lyrical and rhetorical power always within hail of a reasonable and balanced irony; it is all genuine and warm and dry; it is based on earth and conscious of history. One reads it with continual pleasure and liking and admiration. And yet, after all, what a slight volume it is; how little there is in the world, the feeling seems to be, worth writing about.

> There is one story and one story only
> That will prove worth your telling
> Whether as learned bard or gifted child.

WILLIAM EMPSON

Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

MISS TALLULAH BANKHEAD is one of the few American actresses whose devotees are as loyal—and sometimes as uncritical—as a movie star's fans. Not all of them stuck with her through her misadventure in "Antony and Cleopatra," but there were enough on hand during at least the early performances of "The Eagle Has Two Heads" to make the rafters of the Plymouth Theater ring with their enthusiasm. The supposedly omnipotent critics had already pronounced it the most pretentious piece of absurdity seen here in years, but the fact that Miss Bankhead was playing it for all it was not worth was apparently enough.

Perhaps the author, Jean Cocteau, intended some kind of burlesque, though I do not see how it could be a very funny one. Perhaps "The Eagle Has Two Heads" is sur-dadaism or the first example of post-existentionalist drama! But played straight, as Miss Bankhead and her company are playing it here, it is simply an incredible farrago of all the romantic clichés anyone could possibly think of if he started off with the figure of a beautiful and bereaved Hapsburg queen who is in love, first with the ghost of her dead husband, and then with a would-be assassin who miraculously turns out to be the spittin' image of the defunct king. At the end, this new lover, who has just taken poison, shoots the queen in the back—this being exactly what she has always wanted him to do, for reasons which are too complicated to explain and not very convincing at best. But that is not all. The moment he has chosen to do the deed is just before the moment when the queen is supposed to appear at a balcony window and, for the first time in many years, show her face to her loving people. As the fatal bullet finds its mark, the band outside strikes up the national anthem of Graustark; Miss Bankhead heroically thrusts aside the curtain which covers the window; and then, tearing away the drapery as she falls, tumbles with it head-first down the stairs. Personally I do not remember such a death scene since "Fra Diavolo," and while the faithful thundered approval the judicious looked at one another in a wild surmise as they asked themselves, "Can such things be?"

Now I would be the last to deny that there is something to be said for innocent hokum. I do not, however, know what excuse can be made for hokum combined, as here it is, with chichi; for simple theatrical nonsense which has been slowed down by the dead weight of interminable pseudo-poetic tirades, often delivered as though they were trying to reach blank verse but could not quite make it.

What is really painful about "The Eagle Has Two Heads" is not merely the theatrical claptrap but the leaden march of bad poetic prose, the thin whine of inflated *pensées* as they go flat, and the dull thud of epigrams falling dismally on their faces. What are we to think of a poet who offers us "you were fleeing like a hunted beast" as though it were a striking metaphor? Of an epigrammatist who can make his royal heroine explain her lack of fear of lightning by declaring that "it sometimes strikes trees but not family trees," or can allow his Machiavellian statesman to rebuke a political poet with the pronouncement that "it is one thing to split an infinitive, but it is quite another to divide a state"? What are we to think of a philosopher whose *pensées* run to things like "Happiness is misery if it is only the absence of unhappiness," or "All love is a little death but a great love is suicide"? I assure my readers that these quotations were taken down

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verbatim on the margins of my program just as they fell dead from the lips of the speakers, and though I am well aware that one can always imagine the translation to be bad I cannot easily believe that any possible original of these sentiments would be very impressive. Perhaps M. Cocteau has succeeded in demonstrating, once and for all, that the only thing which lies beyond sense is non-sense and that the *sur* always turns out to be the *infra*. Thanks to the theory of relativity, it is now popularly believed that if you go far enough into the future you come to the past. Perhaps the most advanced of the advance guard are discovering that if you push on far enough ahead you will rediscover the démodé.

As for Miss Bankhead's performance, there are, as I have already indicated, two opinions. She is on the stage nearly all the time and she speaks most of the lines, sometimes talking for five or ten minutes at a stretch without so much as a monosyllabic interruption. Obviously she is having quite as good a time as her fans are, and there can be no doubt that her interpretation is unique—alternating as it does a hauteur that is as queenly as all get out with sudden, apparently involuntary lapses into that rowdy bonhommie which is her natural manner. Unlike Oscar Wilde I do not profess to know how a duke (or a queen) behaves when he is by himself, and so, for all I can prove to the contrary, Miss Bankhead's conception may be the right one. Its effect is, indeed, a good deal like the one achieved by her delightful interpretation of her role in "The Skin of Our Teeth," where she was supposed to be alternately Lilith and a servant girl on the make. But it did seem more appropriate in that play.

Perhaps I had better add the information that "The Eagle Has Two Heads" is said to be now enjoying a successful run in London. I do not know why.

Art

CLEMENT GREENBERG

AS USUAL the water-color, gouache, drawing—and sculpture—instalment of this year's Whitney Annual (through April 17) reaches a securer level of quality than the oils. The reason is still the same. Water color is a more intimate medium than oil, and art tends to be rather a private affair in this country; hence the American artist becomes more direct and less ill at ease and pretentious when working in water color or gouache. At the same time he has behind him the Anglo-Saxon tradition of water color.

The greater success of American water color is particularly evident where one would least expect it—in the more or less abstract sections at the Whitney. Also evident is how increasingly irrelevant the other art is becoming—that which stopped short of cubism. Even so, advanced American art is still too unenterprising and narrow; our temperaments still seem to fit too easily into the canonical modes already laid down by the School of Paris, Kandinsky, and Klee. The successes are pleasing rather than moving or upsetting. This goes for the best water colors and gouaches at the present show: those by Byron Browne—who is improving rapidly—Perle Fine, Chet La More, Jacob Lawrence, Ezio Martinelli, Hans Moller, Ad Reinhardt, and Louis Schanker.

The sculpture section is quite a different matter. It shows a lot of the worst that American art is capable of, and yet at the same time three or four things in it demonstrate better than does oil or even water-color painting the very best we can do at the present moment. Theodore Roszak's steel "Raven" is, despite its bad tripod base, one of the strongest works of art I have ever seen turned out in this country; while Seymour Lipton's lead "Famine" and David Hare's sienaplaster "Red Knight" are almost in the same class. All three of these works are more pictorial than sculptural; the spectacular polychromatic-cement "Fallen Angel" by the always surprising Trajan seems a combination of both. Somewhat academic plaster and terra cotta pieces by Arline Wingate and Hannah Small deserve mention, if only for the success with which they accomplish what they most modestly set out to do. David Smith, whom I think already the greatest sculptor this country has produced, is represented by a weak piece in fabricated bronze; Smith is strictly a pictorial sculptor, and his ventures into monolithic usually result in a loss.

Here, as in France, according to all the evidence I have seen, the future seems to belong to sculpture much more than to painting. The amount of new and potent talent that has sprung up in sculpture and construction within the last ten years—talent of a positiveness relatively rare in painting today—would indicate that the possibilities of post-cubist sculpture have actually become richer than those of post-cubist painting.

Picasso's new lithographs at the Museum of Modern Art (through April 6) confirm the fact that he has remained a great artist in black and white, whatever the vicissitudes of his painting in the last twenty years. During this time one frequently saw preliminary sketches whose effect was far superior to their final versions on canvas—and this was true even in the case of some of Picasso's most ambitious oils. The present lithographs, especially the series with the bull and that with the two nudes, and the cow in the miscellaneous group, have much greater unity, style, and invention than any of his post-1939 oils seen over here so far. Let the spectator who wants to see Picasso "explained" linger over the bull series and notice what changes the bull's anatomy goes through. Here the artist solves with astounding success, in four or five progressively more abstract versions of the same theme—all almost equally good—the problem that has obsessed him since cubism: how to compress the infinity or variety of visual detail offered by any given segment of nature in a set of linear abbreviations that, under the pressure of the unity and economy dictated

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by the plane surface, would constitute a memorandum to the imagination. These lithographs should be published cheaply in book form to enlighten the public as to what modern art is about.

The unusual photographs of the French artist, Henri Cartier-Bresson, also at the Museum of Modern Art (through April 6), provide an object lesson too—in how photography can assimilate the discoveries of modern painting to itself without sacrificing its own essential virtues. One thing that painting since Manet has emphasized is that a picture has to have a "back." It cannot simply fade off in depth into nothingness; every square millimeter of picture space, even if it represents only the empty sky, must play a positive role. This, Cartier-Bresson, like his fellow-photographer Walker Evans, has learned preeminently. At the same time, unlike Edward Weston and the later Stieglitz, he has not forgotten that photography's great asset is its capacity to represent depth and volume, and that this capacity's primary function is to describe, convey, and make vivid the emotional "use-value" of beings and objects. It is to anecdotal content that Cartier-Bresson, rightly, subordinates design and technical finish. I am told that he does not trim his prints, and it is obvious that he takes his shots under circumstances that make it difficult to calculate focus and exposure with any great exactness. This procedure testifies, even if the results did not, to his overriding concern with subject matter rather than with the medium —which comes into its own only in so far as it becomes transparent.

Not all of Cartier-Bresson's photographs are of equal merit. Certain of them are tinged with that artiness which, whether plastic or anecdotal, has so far haunted almost all ambitious photography in the twentieth century. Perhaps it is because photography still feels it has to fight for recognition as an art. For artiness arises usually—as we can see, I believe, in the example of American art in general—when the place of free or high art as opposed to applied, commercial, or past art is overlooked by society at large. Then the artist tends to retaliate both by overemphasizing the nature of art as art and by exaggerating the differences between it and everything else. This would seem to explain Pre-Raphaelitism and British aestheticism in the 1890's, as well as the artiness of Stefan George's and Rilke's milieu in Germany before 1914. Today it handicaps American art, and photography here and everywhere else.

Correction: A month ago I wrongly identified Gertrude Barrer, the painter, as the wife of Kenneth Laurence Beaudoin; she is the wife of the painter Oscar Collier, who collaborates with Mr. Beaudoin on *Iconograph*.

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Records

B. H. HAGGIN

A FEW weeks ago Victor announced that with the return of Lotte Lehmann to its list of artists it had resumed production of her previous recordings of songs and operas. And now it has announced resumption of domestic production of the Glyndebourne Festival recording of Mozart's "Marriage of Figaro." I suspect this is the result of Columbia's announcement of its intention to record the Metropolitan Opera production of "Figaro"; and if I am right it would be one of the rare instances in which the competition of the two companies has benefited the minority public that is interested in Mozart rather than the mass public that is interested in things like the monstrosities played by Isaac Stern and Oscar Levant in the film "Humoresque" (Columbia Set 657; $5).

The first thought that occurred to me when Columbia announced its contract for recordings of the Metropolitan's performances was that these performances were not all worthy of being given permanence on records. The second thought was that the Metropolitan "Figaro" was even finer than the Glyndebourne and therefore eminently worthy of recording; but that although Columbia had contracts with most of its principals—with Sayao, Stevens, Pinza, Baccaloni, and with Bruno Walter who conducted it so beautifully the first years and might be brought back to conduct it for the recording—Victor had the contract with Steber, whose Countess has been one of the production's glories. Just whom Columbia could use in her place I don't know; but it would be someone who had not sung in the performances at the Metropolitan; and I can only hope Columbia will not solve this problem as it did a similar problem recently, when, recording the love music from Act 2 of "Tristan und Isolde" with Traubel and Ralf, it had the long, luscious phrases of Brangäne's Warning, which call for the utmost in vocal opulence, sung by Herta Glaz, whose voice is unpleasant in timbre and tremolo-ridden (one could question the suitability of Traubel's voice in its present condition for the sensuous music of the duet; but she is the Metropolitan's Isolde). This impossibility of recording the Metropolitan "Figaro" with Steber illustrates the way the commercially competitive set-up of recording interferes with its use for artistically desirable ends—just as the similar set-up of American radio prevented the broadcasting of the performance of Berlioz's "Romeo and Juliet" by NBC's Toscanini and CBS's New York Philharmonic in 1942.

The newspaper reports on Miss Margaret Truman's radio appearance with the Detroit Symphony ought to be excellent material for one of A. J. Liebling's "Wayward Press" articles in the *New Yorker*. He could point out that it was, astonishingly, a reviewer in a Detroit paper, Harvey Taylor in the Detroit *Times*, who wrote: "She sings as any talented but fairly inexperienced pupil would sing at her first important public appearance"—which was an accurate characterization of those spiritless sequences of undifferentiated notes, some of them badly off pitch. And on the other hand that it was a New York critic, Noel Straus, sent all the way to Detroit by the New York *Times*, who managed to hear "a sensitive feeling for melodic outline in 'Ciel to Lindo' that also marked Miss Truman's singing in her other numbers," the "spirit, refinement, and sensitivity of feeling" in the songs, and in the aria *Charmant oiseau* "the flexibility of the voice . . . her prowess in high staccato notes, in rapid scales, and other technical feats." But for full appreciation of Straus's report one would have had to observe his hatchet-work on really distinguished musical performances by less exalted personages.

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Letters to the Editors

Niemoeller—Not a Nazi

Dear Sirs: Your editorial note on Pastor Niemöller seems to me very ill advised and to be based upon misinformation. I make no defense for the curious kind of political ethic which Niemöller symbolizes, and which was one of the tragic aspects of the German situation. Niemöller, however, was never a Nazi, and certainly has not expressed himself in favor of totalitarianism since his release. On my recent visit to Germany I had the opportunity of speaking to him about religious and political affairs very fully, and I found him wise in his political judgments and undoubtedly matured by his experience.

I think it is difficult for American secular democrats to understand the rather odd political and almost purely religious motivation of a man like Niemöller, but I should think that one ought to have a certain degree of respect for the courage which brought on seven years of imprisonment. I respect no one in this country more than Mrs. Roosevelt, but I think her judgments are as misinformed as yours in regard to Niemöller.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

New York, March 10

In Rhee's Defense

Dear Sirs: I read Will Hamlin's Korea: An American Tragedy in your issue of March 1 with extraordinary interest. It is a combination of fact and fancy that will both inform and misinform its readers. Mr. Hamlin's main point is that the Korean people are distinctly restive under the dictatorial rule of the American Military Government. They have been promised independence but instead have received division, censorship, economic strangulation, and after eighteen months they still are not allowed a government of their own. A strong current of rebellion against these conditions is rapidly rising in Korea. With this picture I must heartily agree. The only contrary voices are those of the rulers of Korea, who naturally defend their own rule.

The principal distortion in Mr. Hamlin's article is his violent and untruthful attack upon Dr. Syngman Rhee. I am proud to be a friend of Dr. Rhee's. My testimony in his behalf may be discounted for that reason, but at least I know the facts about him, while Mr. Hamlin obviously does not.

Mr. Hamlin calls Dr. Rhee "wealthy" and says, "Rhee has $300,000 in his pocket, and probably millions more available from business friends in the United States. . . ." Someone has been pulling Mr. Hamlin's leg. Dr. Rhee has almost no money at all. From his youth he was engaged in revolutionary activities—first against the corrupt Yi dynasty, then against the Japanese rulers of his country. He came to the United States and worked his way through college. For the past thirty-five years he has devoted all his time and energy to the fight for Korean independence. He has been in no position to acquire wealth. As a perpetual rebel against our State Department policies, he has made few wealthy friends, and those he has made have not given him money. His sole means of support has been the "voluntary taxes" voted to keep up his work for Korean independence, contributed by the Korean Americans in this country and Hawaii.

Mr. Hamlin's second charge against Dr. Rhee is that he is the leader of a wealthy, reactionary, and pro-Japanese Korean rightist clique that is trying to seize power at the expense of the Korean people. This is just as false as the first. Anyone who knows anything at all about Dr. Rhee knows that he fought the Japanese control of Korea by every means in his power.

There are many political leaders in Korea, just as there are in the United States. Most of the non-Communist leaders are loosely organized in the Korean Democratic Unity Federation, under Dr. Rhee's chairmanship, just as Republicans in Congress are loosely organized under the leadership of Senator Taft. But Dr. Rhee's political strength does not come from the support of these political leaders. It comes from the devotion of the great masses of the Korean people. I spent two and a half months in Korea last summer, not as an employee of the Military Government, but as a guest lecturer at the University of Korea. I traveled through South Korea and made every effort to learn what the people want. Dr. Rhee is their hero to an extent comparable to the feeling of Americans for President Roosevelt, back in 1933.

However, it was evident that Dr. Rhee was suffering some loss of prestige among the people. The reason was that he had urged them to support the American Military Government and to give General John R. Hodge every opportunity to keep the promises of independence that had been made to Korea. Hot-heads among Korean youth naturally wanted to demonstrate against American delays. When Dr. Rhee told them this was unwise, it was inevitable that his popularity suffered.

Finally, in November, an election was held to choose forty-five members for an Interim Legislature. Eighty-five per cent of those elected were followers of Dr. Rhee. Then General John R. Hodge *appointed* forty-five more legislators, most of them from among Dr. Rhee's opponents. Since then he has removed six members and replaced them with six more of his appointees. Now General Hodge is blaming that hand-picked and controlled legislature for not giving him even closer cooperation.

When Dr. Rhee saw that every possible obstruction was to be placed in the way of an orderly expression by the Korean people of their own desires, he told General Hodge he could support him no longer. He came back to the United States to make his protest to the State Department and to the American people. The State Department refused to hear him. Lack of funds has seriously handicapped his efforts to inform the American public of what is going on. Korea is 8,000 miles away and has no bloc of votes in this country; so Congress has not been interested. Even Dr. Rhee's communications with his people back in Korea have been heavily censored. And a far-reaching "smear campaign" against him has been spread through some of the American press.

Now Dr. Rhee is returning to Korea. He returns to seek a free election based upon universal suffrage. He returns to fight by every means in his power for democracy and independence. He has no ambitions other than these. Dr. Rhee has repeatedly offered to withdraw wholly from politics if that would expedite the granting of freedom to his people. But the simple fact is that he is the chief unifying force in Korea, and that if he were to retire, his people would disintegrate into innumerable divergent groups.

ROBERT T. OLIVER

Syracuse, N. Y., March 20

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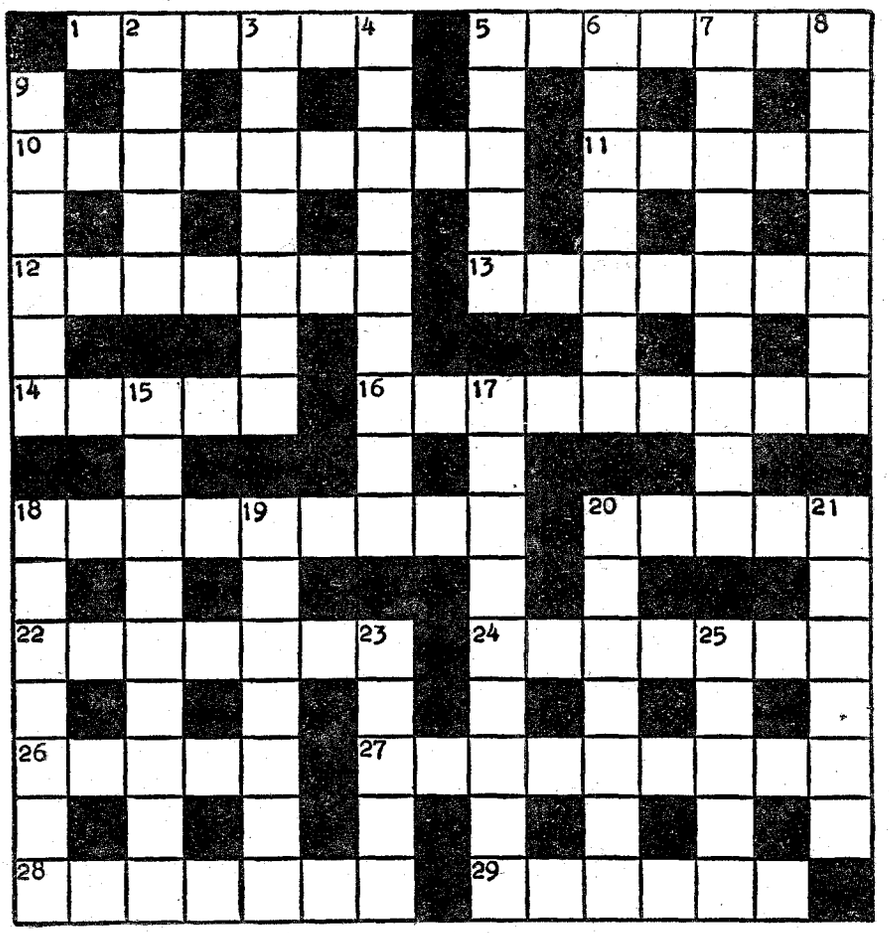
Crossword Puzzle No. 206

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Tradesman with a penchant for covering up things?
5 Seals perform thus
10 There's a catch in it so you may not see the point (6-3)
11 Accustom
12 He must have two seconds—one in which to get ready, and the other to carry him out
13 Has he no ideals at all?
14 Sound of a business going broke
16 Not the butchering of boobies for an illusory feast
18 Parliamentary contestant who was not squared at the poll
20 Very clever people?
22 Mere outward decency is a rum code
24 They combine domestic with ceremonial duties in the East
26 She has no connection with Helen, but may be related to Alan
27 Made out a phonograph record—er—and a donkey
28 Witchcraft makes Rose cry
29 Half of it is a tree, and it produces a spray

DOWN

2 Strip and rob
3 Wanting to be made much of?
4 Pale brute (anag.)
5 Such a sanctum is a holy of holies
6 "The dog, to gain his - - - - - - - ends, Went mad, and bit the man" (which, as Lord Northcliffe would have said, is not news)
7 Are you in an edition? It is a learned one
8 She has two articles put in a case
9 Made by old-fashioned actors
15 Pertaining to an uncle
17 A nudist restores his balance
18 Senders show embarrassment
19 Ran in Mussolini for imprisonment
20 Well-bred male fish?
21 Where Jonah travelled
23 Blouse for a midshipman
25 They are ice-capped all the year round

□—□—□—□

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 205

ACROSS:—1 SALIC; 4 CURRY; 7 HORATIO; 10 AGREE; 11 SCION; 12 FANTASY; 13 KNOB; 16 SEAS; 18 SHRUG; 20 PRESTO; 21 EATING; 22 UPSHOT; 24 SNIPER; 25 PEWIT; 26 BEAD; 28 RUDE; 31 THRONES; 33 NEIGH; 34 APTER; 35 ENROLLS; 36 FROWN; 37 HEART.

DOWN:—1 SPARK; 2 LARGO; 3 CHEF; 4 COSY; 5 RAISE; 6 YANKS; 8 RANCHO; 9 TEAGUE; 14 NEPTUNE; 15 BLESSED; 16 SLIPPER; 17 ANGERED; 18 STOOP; 19 GAUNT; 23 TERROR; 24 SIGNAL; 26 BANFF; 27 AMIGO; 29 ULTRA; 30 EGRET; 31 THEN; 32 SASH.

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CORRECTION: Recently our contributors' column stated that Elizabeth Bishop had been given the Macmillan Poetry Award; actually, of course, her "North and South" was given the Houghton Mifflin Poetry Award.

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